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ABSTRACT

This report discusses the views of students now in the eleventh grade who participated in the original pilot class of the St. Lambert early immersion program in Montreal. They were asked to look back on their schooling and to appraise its effects on their lives. Their parents were asked to do the same. Questionnaires designed to elicit information on competence and use of French, assessment of French instructional programs, and plans for the future were given to all those who had started school in a French immersion kindergarten twelve years previously, and to their parents. Questionnaires were also given to pupils and parents who had been in the original English comparison classes. Results show clear appreciation for the early immersion experience both in students and parents. Students in early immersion express a feeling of well-being and satisfaction with their proficiency in French, which is much more advanced than that reached by the English comparison students. Immersion students also show a more positive attitude towards French-speaking Canadians, express more desire to stay in Quebec and to become fully bilingual. Appendices of the report consist of summaries of the commentaries of the students and their parents. (CLK)

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GRADUATES OF EARLY IMMERSION: RETROSPECTIVE VIEWS OF GRADE 11 STUDENTS AND THEIR PARENTS[1]

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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The pupils in the original pilot class of the St. Lambert "early immersion" or "home-to-school language switch" project have now graduated from secondary school. For this report, we have asked these young people to look back on their schooling and to appraise its effects on their lives. We also asked their parents to do the same.

There was something very special about the schooling of these students because during Kindergarten and Grade 1 their entire contact with teachers and subject matters took place in French, which was essentially a foreign language for them since they all came from homes where only English was used and very little contact with French-speaking Canadians took place in their neighborhoods. They were given the chance to learn French indirectly through the course materials taught, and directly as a subject matter from their French-speaking teachers. During Grades 2, 3 and 4, they continued in a mainly French learning environment except for two daily half-hour periods of English Language Arts and for courses in physical education and plastic arts which were taught by native

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speakers of English. The amount of instruction time given to English increased at Grade 5 so that during Grade 5 and 6, the last year of elementary school, the proportions were roughly 60 per cent English, and 40 per cent French. Thus, the elementary school program was structured as to proportions of time given to French immersion, but for the first few years many "experiments" were conducted to find appropriate teachers, materials and modes of instruction. The pilot class felt the full weight of this experimentation.

The program for secondary school was less well regulated although attempts were made to provide appropriate follow-up or maintenance courses in French and to offer certain subject matters in French. As we will see in this report, the students and parents were generally not satisfied with the follow-up program.

Each year the students in the early immersion French program were tested for their progress in French, in English, and in subject matters, their standing on measures of verbal and non-verbal intelligence, and their attitudes toward English and French-speaking people. They were compared with English-language-schooling and French-language-schooling control groups, each composed of children from the same socioeconomic background, of the same intellectual level, and, in the case of the English-speaking controls, from homes with comparable attitudes toward French-speaking Canadians as those in the immersion program. No attempt was made to select only those with high academic promise, so that in the

immersion classes as in the comparison groups, I.Q. scores varied widely and a small proportion of children with diagnosed "learning difficulties" were kept in each sample. The program was not intended exclusively for middle class children although the groups described here were essentially middle class. In fact, the same immersion program has been followed by children from working class backgrounds (Tucker, Lambert & d'Anglejan, 1973; Cziko, 1975;1976; Bruck, Tucker & Jakimik, 1976), and the favorable results of immersion hold as well for them as for the more favored social groups. Nor was the program meant for French-speaking Canadian children who might want to follow immersion-in-English classes because in that case we felt that the French Canadian society was in a period of rapid change and needed to assure itself that their children had developed full strength in the French language before embarking on English-language training. Certain suggestions as to how these ends might be attained for French Canadians have been presented elsewhere (see Lambert & Tucker, 1972; Lambert, 1977; Tucker, 1975).

The results of our year-by-year testing have been presented in a series of reports (Lambert & Tucker, 1972; Lambert, Tucker, & d'Anglejan, 1973; Bruck, Lambert & Tucker, 1974; Bruck, Lambert, & Tucker, 1976). On the basis of these detailed comparisons, we found that from Kindergarten through Grade 6, the children in early immersion classes progressed extremely well in all aspects of French language skills, relative to the French-speaking controls; they were also able to learn content subjects (like math,

science and social studies) through French as well as the comparison groups; they showed no signs of falling behind their age equivalents in any aspects of English language development; they were not impaired intellectually, judging from their performance on measures of intelligence -- in fact, they pulled ahead of the comparison groups on measures of "divergent thinking" or "creativity" by the later grades (Scott, 1973; Cummins, 1976); and their attitudes toward French people and toward the French immersion program were favorable throughout the elementary years. We also found that as the proportion of time spent in French langauge instruction decreased from Grade 3 to 6, their progress in development in French language skills slowed down as well (cf., Lambert & Tucker, 1972; Spilka, 1976).

This report picks up the same young people, now graduating from secondary school, after a gap of 5 years, since our regular testing stopped at Grade 6, when students moved on to secondary school. During this gap, most students took the follow-up program in French offered at secondary school. In the final two years, they also took secondary school leaving exams in French-as-a-subject matter, and in some cases, exams on French language skills designed for French-speaking secondary school students.

METHOD

Questionnaires designed to elicit information on competence and use of French, assessment of different programs to teach French, and plans for the future were given or mailed to all those who had started school in a French immersion Kindergarten twelve years previously and their parents (see Appendix 1). As well, questionnaires were completed by those pupils and their parents who had been in the original English comparison classes -- those whose parents had entered their children in a conventional English language program in Montreal's public schools which had a program of French as a second language (FSL) one period per day from kindergarten on. In this program, the children studied French approximately 45 minutes per day as a subject. The children were first introduced to oral activities with an emphasis on listening to the language and learning various songs, drills, short dialogues, etc. The FSL program used a relatively traditional audio-lingual approach in which the children first listened, then mimicked, then practiced what the teacher said until they gradually were able to produce utterances unaided. For the most part, the FSL classes were strictly language arts classes with no attempt made to teach context via the language. The comparison group parents living in the Westmount community did not have an early immersion program available to them as an option. Thus, they were "forced" to enroll their children in the traditional English classes. In the St. Lambert community, parents were essentially assigned by lot to the experimental or

control groups. Six of the English comparison students had taken the "late" French immersion option at Grade 7, which meant that the bulk of their Grade 7 schooling was conducted in French with teachers whose native language was French. In this report, we will treat the English comparison group as a whole, without differentiating those with grade 7 immersion experience. The Grade 7 immersion option was not open to those in the early immersion program.

Results: Students' Questionnaire

Since the questionnaire included straight-forward questions as well as opportunities for extended comments, we will present the findings in both an objective form, that is, with statistical counts of reported levels of skills in the French language and use of the language in the community, etc., and a subjective form, relying on the extended comments made by students and/or their parents as to their feelings and personal views about various aspects of the school experiences.

The comparisons to be made permit us to assess how well the program of "early immersion" in French has served these English Canadian young people as a preparation for coping with the bilingual demands of today's Quebec or other bilingual areas of Canada. In other words, we will try to determine how well immersion schooling prepares English speaking students to function at work, in school, and in social relationships in a bilingual society.

One of the general conclusions we will arrive at is that these young people are indeed very well prepared to function in French, much more so than those without the early immersion French language experience. At the same time, however, we also conclude that even with a substantial bilingual preparation, many of these graduates have trouble making contact with the French world around them, and that disappointments may be engendered, precisely because they have developed the capacity to function easily in a bilingual community. We even wonder whether some form of this type of disappointment,coupled with mounting employment problems,may prompt many of these young people to think of making their lives outside of Quebec. What this means is that our analysis of the results will focus as much on the students' perceptions of the social atmosphere of contemporary Quebec as on the surface meaning of their replies to our questions.

We will start by summarizing the students' and parents' responses to our questionnaire, with brief references to the statistical outcomes. At the same time, we will refer repeatedly to the personal commentaries added to the questionnaires. These spontaneous comments from each family group are given in full albeit anonymously in Appendix 1. On reading these "family" impressions, one sees how a novel educational experience like early immersion schooling actually involves parents as well as pupils, and brings about important reciprocal influences at every step. As we will see,

pupils and parents sometimes have different expectations about the outcomes of such an educational experience, although in general there is good agreement within families as to what went on and what came from the experience.

Background Information

Table 1 presents the basic background information for the two groups of Grade 11 students, the "early immersion" group labeled as EI, and the English schooling comparison group labeled as EC. From the original classes, we will be dealing with 17 early immersion students and 21 English schooling controls, with roughly equal numbers of males and females. Originally there were 22 students in the EI class at Kindergarten and 34 students in two separate Kindergarten classes of EC children. We made every attempt to contact all of these students either directly if they were still in Montreal, or by mail. Nearly all students were at Grade 11 at the time of the survey, and all of them came from English language homes, with no other language as a home or working language.

Insert Table 1 about here

As of Grade 11, all of the EI students had been in public schools since Kindergarten. In fact, the vast majority of the original class moved along year-by-year as a unit, a rarity in these days of streaming and ability grouping. In contrast, a

significantly larger proportion of the EC group had entered private schooling (χ^2 (df,1) = 3.82, $p < .05$). This difference might simply mean that the EC families, many from Montreal's Westmount area, were less sure of the secondary school education available to them compared to that available in the St. Lambert area. On the other hand, the difference could mean that the EC families, representing as they do the same social class standing as the EI families, had found more need than EI families to turn to private schooling, as though in their eyes public schooling was inadequate in eertain respects, specifically, in language teaching, as expressed in the questionnaires. On the other hand, the commentaries suggest that the EI students appreciated the "special attention" they received as the "pilot" class of this new form of education, and the cohesiveness of the group. Apparently it was this satisfaction, along with the regular progress being made in French that satisfied the EI parents as well; otherwise,they, too, might have chosen private schooling in similar proportions.

French Language Competence

The group comparisons for French language competence are presented in Table 2, Section I through IV. In considering the comparisons, it should be kept in mind that the EC students followed a conventional English language program with FSL from Kindergarten on, that is, they had received an average of 45 minutes per day of instruction in French as a second language. In other words, in comparison with typical programs of second or foreign

language training available in the United States or even in other parts of Canada, the EC students had a very rich program of French study.

We will be relying here on the perceptions these young people have of their competence in French, and although these could be admittedly subjective and possibly biased, it is our opinion that in giving their ratings of competence, these students use as a frame of reference what a fully bilingual person in Montreal is like.

As a group, the graduates of the early immersion program feel that they can speak, understand, read and write French at relatively high levels compared to the EC students. In terms of degrees of competence, the EI students feel they handle each aspect of the language "quite well" whereas the EC students say they can handle French only "well enough to get by." In each instance, there are statistically reliable group differences in perceptions of competence in the French language, and each of these favors the EI group.

From items 5 through 9 it is clear that the graduates of the EI program feel much more competent in their ability to function in French in the community than the EC graduates. As a group, they feel more able to attend a French language university, to take employment where French is required, to perform daily errands in French, to ask and give directions in French, and to attend essentially French only social gatherings. Interestingly, both groups feel equally able to read French newspapers

(Item 11) whereas the EI students again feel more competent to understand French T.V. and radio programs (item 12).

French Language Use

With respect to the actual usage made of French outside of school, it is not surprising that neither the EC nor the EI students use French with parents, brothers and sisters or schoolmates. This finding is consistent with the views the EI students have previously expressed: for them there is something "phoney" in using French with English speakers even when they are bilingual. Nor do the groups differ in the frequency of attending French films, listening to French radio, watching French television or reading French newspapers or books. Both groups indicate that they rarely if ever turn to any of the French media. As seen in the commentaries, both EC and EI groups appear to be swamped by the impact of the American media, from films and television to periodicals and books. One wonders, in fact, how in this setting the value of some other media source such as Canadian French language programs can be brought at least into competition.

The groups pull apart, however, on an important subset of items dealing with the use of French in the broader community with French people. The EI students "almost always" use French with their French teacher while the EC group does so only "sometimes ($p < .01$). The EI students use French more often with French-speaking friends ($p < .01$), and more often with French-

speaking neighbors ($p < .01$). They also find more day-to-day opportunities outside of school to speak French than do the EC students ($p < .01$). The picture that emerges here is that once a certain level of language skill has been attained, another linguistic world starts to open up. The main point though is that there are important differences between EI and EC groups in their willingness and/or ability to find opportunities to use French in the French community.

This difference between the EI and the EC groups in ability to make social contacts with French-speaking people is reflected as well in the responses to items 7 through 9 of Part II. When they meet a French-speaking stranger, members of the EI group are more likely to start up a conversation in French (on the average, they do so "often" while the EC students do so "sometimes," $p < .03$). What is perhaps more interesting is that French-speaking people are also more likely to strike up a conversation in French with the EI students ("very often") than they are with the EC students ("sometimes," $p < .02$), and the EI children are more likely to communicate back in French than are the EC children ($p < .01$). It would be interesting to follow this pattern of differences in greater detail, for one gets the impression that the children with early immersion experience react more like French speakers, possibly sending out better signals of their ability and willingness to communicate in French.

Nevertheless, there appear to be limits as to how far these English-speaking young people can go in their social relationships with French speakers. When asked if they attend parties where French only is spoken (Part II, item 13), only a small minority of the EI or the EC students answer that they do. Likewise, when asked if they take part in other activities in the community which call for a knowledge of French (Part II, item 19), at least half of the students in each group say that they do not.

But it is not that either the EI or EC students avoid situations where they have to speak French (Part II, item 12). However EI students do find more occasions than the EC's to come into social contact with French people. For instance, they are much more likely to use French for errands ($p < .02$), and for asking and giving directions ($p < .02$; items 17 and 18). And although both EI and EC students mention that they have French-speaking friends (items 15), there is an important difference in the form of linguistic interaction that takes place with these French friends. The EI students never use English, but instead either French or some combination of French and English. Few EC students use French in these situations ($p < .01$). The question then arises: Why don't these contacts with French-speaking friends, based on mainly French language communication, lead the EI students further into the French Canadian society? Why are so few of the EI students invited to mainly French parties or other community activities conducted in French?

Later we will offer our attempts to explain these apparent limits on the possibilities for social interaction.

Plans for the Future

The final set of questions (Part IV) asked the students to look ahead and sketch out their plans for the future. After secondary school, the vast majority of both groups plan on college or university training (item 1), and they are aiming for either professional or white collar occupations. When asked where they will likely be living in four years time (Part IV, item 3), the majority of both groups do not see themselves living in Quebec.

When asked if they plan to continue to improve their knowledge of French (Part IV, item 4), the majority of both groups say that they will. This general interest in improving their French skills may reflect a generally positive attitude towards the French community. Gardner & Smythe (1974) have found in recent research that favorable attitudes and an "integrative motive" toward learning the language of another ethnolinguistic group promotes in students the intention to continue the study of that language as well as the actual implementation of these intentions. Still, a surprising minority of each group does not plan to continue with French, as though certain of these students may be discouraged about the value of going further with the language. Perhaps their attitudes have taken a negative turn, in Gardner's sense of the term.

However, when asked if they are interested in learning another language other than French, there is an important group difference. The EI students show more interest than the EC's in another language ($p < .06$). This could reflect a difference attributable to the taste of success: The EI students have already seen in their own experiences that one can master a second or foreign language and, perhaps as a consequence, they are more ready and interested to try another. The important message for language educators is that the development of high-level skills with one foreign or second language can increase the desire to learn other languages.

Results: Parents' Questionnaire

The questionnaire was given to each parent and the statistical analysis of replies are presented in Table 3. We find, first, that the parents of both EI and EC students are all native speakers of English (Part I, item 9), and for the most part they have misgivings about their lack of skill in French, placing themselves a bit above the reference point "barely enough to get by" but below the "well enough to get by" point with regard to their ability to speak, understand, read and write French (Part III).

These findings are interesting because the same parents, in our interviews some 13 years ago (see Lambert and Tucker, 1972), told us that they were disappointed with their own lack of competence in French in spite of some seven or more years of public

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Insert Table 3 about here

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school instruction in the language. In fact, a large part of the interest of the EI parents in exploring other ways of learning French for their children appeared to stem from their own frustrations with the language at school. But it is difficult to understand how these parents, mainly long-term residents of Quebec, would not have progressed further in their command of the French language since some 80% of the population of the province are French-speaking. One could interpret this lack of competence as a reflection of the greater prestige of English over French in North America. Of course, one could interpret the same findings as a reflection of the general lack of interest in the French language and the desire to have English overpower French as a working language even in Quebec. We might offer another possible interpretation: that neither the French Canadian nor the English Canadian has made really serious efforts to open up their respective societies to enable the other ethnolinguistic group to learn the other language or to learn about the other people. This interpretation comes to mind because we found that the EI and EC students apparently encounter numerous barriers for intergroup relations, and it could well be that their parents had similar encounters a generation earlier.

The vast majority of both groups of parents have encouraged their children to participate in activities, outside of school, where French is the dominant language such as going to the theatre, taking athletic and sports instruction in French, etc.

(Part IV, item 1). The vast majority have also encouraged their children to use French in the community by, for example, asking directions in French, seeking out French-speaking playmates, etc. (Part IV, item 2). And the children's comparatively richer experiences in French have had some impact on the parents' attempts to improve their own competence in the language; in fact, about a third of the parents say that they were so influenced (Part IV, item 3).

Finally, when the parents try to reflect on and assess the language programs their children followed from kindergarten through secondary school a very striking difference emerges: the parents of the EI students almost unanimously consider that the early immersion experience was successful whereas the vast majority of parents of the EC students saw the conventional FSL programs as unsuccessful ($p < .001$). Furthermore, the vast majority of the parents of the EI students said they would choose the early immersion program again, while the EC parents were uncertain as to what they would choose as an alternative ($p < .02$).

An Analysis of the Extended Comments of Students and Parents

The comments spontaneously added by students and parents are presented anonymously in the appendix. They constitute a rich supplement to the questionnaire resposes, because in them one can often capture feelings and attitudes that are otherwise not expressed. We have already drawn on this source of information for examples of the feelings of students and parents, but here in

Table 4, we have compiled numerical counts of certain reactions that recur as themes in these free commentaries. In doing so, we find that although they agree in general with the questionnaire response, in many cases they go far beyond in the attitudes expressed.

In Table 4 we present a number of recurring themes along with comparisons of the reactions of EI and EC students and parents. Because the contents of these comments varied widely and were voluntary, statistical analyses were not appropriate since coding of the responses would have been difficult and we had no way of evaluating those cases where no information was offered. Certain trends are nonetheless clear.

What we find is that some 33% of the EI students have already found occasions to work in French in part-time or summer jobs, compared to only 10% of the EC students. Overall, some 70% of the EI students feel they could work in French versus 20% of the EC students, and in general the parents agree with their children in these instances (items 1 and 2 in Table 4). Some 23% of the EI students also feel they could carry out their college and university studies in French institutions compared to only 10% of the EC students who feel that capable in French (item 3, Table 4).

Incidentally, some 56% of the EI parents feel that their children could enroll in French colleges; this means that there is a much larger number of parents than students who feel the

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Insert Table 4 about here

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latter could succeed in a French institution. Even though this suggests that the EI parents may exaggerate their children's capacities in French, the main point is that about a third of the EI students do feel capable of entering French language colleges for advanced training.

One recurring theme dealt with students' interest and motivation to become more a part of the French-speaking world around them in Quebec. We found a decidedly more favorable attitude toward integrating with French-speaking Canadians among EI than EC students (72% versus 41%). This more favorable attitude may be an outcome of their greater ability in French.

Incidentally, this is another instance where the views of the EC parents are not in line with those of their children: 70% of the EC parents feel that their children are favorably disposed to integration with French Canadians while only 40% of the students themselves express such an attitude (item 4, Table 4). This discrepancy is interesting to us and we wonder why students and parents have different perspectives on this important issues. Apparently, the parents are more prone to give the socially expected reaction.

We also counted the number of students in each group who felt motivated either to stay in Quebec or leave, in face of the uncertain political and economic future of the province. Here we find that some 40% of the EI students are anxious to stay in Quebec (item 5, Table 4), compared to 20% of the EC students who

are similarly motivated to stay. (Note here again that the EC parents have an inflated view of the feelings of their children on this critical issues: 30% of the EC parents project that their children will stay versus 18% of the students who say that they are likely to stay).

We are impressed most by the fact that some 56% of the EI students, with their capabilities in the language and their desire to integrate with French-speaking Canadians, are thinking of making their lives outside Quebec. This is all the more striking when we realize that over 70% of the EI students are of the opinion that they could easily become fully bilingual, given opportunities to practice their French, compared to only 27% of the EC students, who are more inclined to the view that it is too late for them to become fully bilingual (item 6, Table 4). Here the parents agree with the students' assessments of their bilingual potential. Furthermore, some 50% of the EI students say that they have French-speaking friends (with whom, as already noted, tend to use French) compared to only 27% of the EC students (who they tend to use English or English and French as the language of communication, item 7, Table 4).

Finally, in item 8, we see reflected again the fact that our sample of EI students has stayed in the public school system, and also stayed together as a group, whereas 25% of the EC families turned to private schooling. This greater use of private schooling might reflect a general concern on the part of EC parents

about their children's future in Quebec, including the need for comprehensive training in French that one gets in private English language schools in Quebec (c.f., the commentaries of students and parents), and the desire to offer their children a more personalized education. What is interesting is that the EI families may have been more satisfied with public schooling because with the immersion program they were assured of progress in French, the support and security of a well-knit peer group, and a generally more personalized education.

There are other interesting comparisons to be seen in the commentaries. One that struck us as important has to do with the attitude or EI students and/or parents toward being enrolled directly in French language schools which afford English-speaking children the chance to be with French-speaking children and communicate with them in French. What we find is that the EI students and their parents seem more open to and take as normal the idea of going one step beyond immersion to "submersion", that is, to actually attending French language schools. The general attitude that one finds in the commentaries is that even though the immersion programs has been successful, students could progress even further by having direct experience in French schools with French youngsters. The major point is that this idea emerges spontaneously from families with immersion experience, more so than from the English comparison families, as though the former had few concerns or misgivings about losing ground in English or of losing

personal identity by taking such a step. The statistical evidence for this conclusion comes from the fact that five students and two parents in the EI group mention the submersion option (see families 3, 6, 9, 11, 15) while there is only one such suggestion from an EC student (family 13) and one from an EC parent (family 16). The suggestion from family 16 is that schools be integrated, half French- and half English-speaking students in each class, alternating languages of instruction. However, in the EC group there are three other instances where "submersion" experience is suggested as a valuable addition (families 11, 18 and 20), but in each of these cases the parents are judging from experiences with other children in the family who either had early immersion schooling or, in one case, schooling in a private French high school (family 18). Thus, the total for those with early immersion experience in the family who spontaneously suggest, as an alternative, sending their children to French schools is 10 (7 students and 3 parents) versus 2 (1 student and 1 parent) for those without early immersion experience in the family. The idea we see emerging is that parents and students with immersion schooling experience are generally satisfied with it and take the idea of going a step further toward integrated schooling in the other language community as natural and appropriate.

CONCLUSIONS

These, then, are the conclusions we arrive at from our analysis of both the objective and subjective responses of these two groups of high school students and their parents:

1. There is a very clear appreciation for the early immersion experience on the part of the EI students and their parents who, in the vast majority, say that they would choose the immersion option if they had to do it all over. This general satisfaction on the part of the EI parents -- in spite of their dissatisfaction with the follow-up programs at the secondary school level -- stands in sharp contrast to the general disappointment of the EC parents with their children's language programs. It is the EC parents who are more prone to direct harsh criticism at the school system for having failed them and their children; they also turn more to private schooling, perhaps as an assurance for their children's future.

2. In general, the students with early immersion experience express a feeling of well being, self-assurance and satisfaction with their level of attainment in French which is much more advanced than that reached by the English comparison students. This sense of attainment shows itself in various ways: (a) the EI students have already had more part-time and summer working in French, (b) the EI students feel much more capable of working in French, (c) they feel more capable of studying in French at the college or university level, and (d) they are more eager to study other languages, as though the taste of success with learning French and the realization that one can master a foreign language stimulated a more general interest in learning other languages.

3. The EI students as a group also show a more positive attitude toward French-speaking Canadians and a greater willing-

ness to make contacts with French-speaking friends; we are informed as well that they are much more inclined to use French with their French friends.

4. A larger proportion of the EI than the EC students also express a desire to stay in Quebec even though there is a majority of both EI and EC students who think in terms of leaving the province in the next few years.

5. A much larger proportion of EI and EC students also feel that they could, with experience in using the language, becoming fully bilingual. These feelings are shared as well by the respective groups of parents. The contrast is highlighted by the delight of two of the EI students who said they had been highly complimented when taken to be native speakers of French. The EC students on the other hand give the impression that they have little hope of really mastering French or that it is too late to expect that degree of competence.

6. Having experienced immersion schooling, both the EI students and their parents are more inclined to see the merits of going even further in forms of immersion to the point of full contact with French students in French language schools. Rather than viewing "submersion" in a total French school as a radical step, one might adversely affect a child's identity and native language competence, it is seen more as a natural and obvious extension of early immersion by a substantial number of EI students and their parents.

7. On balance, the contrasts between the EI and EC groups that have emerged here portray the early immersion experience as a means of developing high degrees of skill in the French language, a feeling of confidence among graduates that they could work, study and live in a French environment as well as in an English one, a belief that they could, given simple opportunities to use French, become fully bilingual, and a willingness and desire to meet and integrate with French-speaking Canadians. At the same time, the analysis has brought to light various hurdles that these well prepared and motivated young people face if they try to penetrate the French world around them in Quebec. Some of these hurdles are very likely rooted in the English-speaking society itself which may not provide models and examples of ways to make contact with French-speaking people. On the other hand, some hurdles are very likely rooted in the French-speaking society of Quebec which may also not provide models of how one could encourage and follow-up on gestures of personal interest coming from English-speaking Canadians. Furthermore, this group of English-speaking students, graduating from secondary school in the late 70's, enters a society that is divided and polarized along ethnic and linguistic lines to a greater degree than that experienced by their parents or grandparents. One wonders how these youngsters can learn to live cooperatively as Canadians when the schools they attend are segregated along religious and linguistic lines. In such conditions, children could reasonably ask why it is that the society apparently does <u>not</u>

want them to learn the other language or to get to know members of the other ethnolinguistic group. In an important large scale investigation with French Canadian secondary school students, Gagnon (1972) found that the vast majority thought that it is only natural that both major Canadian groups learn each other's language, and that, in their views, the language would best be learned though schooling plus personal contacts. Gagnon also found that over 70% of his sample would be very appreciative of occasions to visit English language settings. Today, young people might wonder why society makes it so difficult for them to learn the other language or make social contacts with the other group.

Because these hurdles could be a source of frustration, it is important that educators and policy makers give thought to helping these students understand their society and letting them have a hand in improving it. We have found here that there are few ways these students can use French outside of school; that they would like to be more involved in basically French activities, but usually aren't invited; that friendships with French speaking young people are not common or easy to establish; and that the majority of both EI and EC student groups are thinking of moving out of Quebec in the next four years. In spite of current political policies in Quebec that limit the chances of French-speaking Canadian students becoming as competent in English as the EI students are in French, still there likely are numbers of French Canadian young people who have similar desires for

social contacts but who face comparable societal hurdles in their attempts to make contact with the English Canadian society (c.f., Gagnon, 1972). From the perspective of both groups, then, we begin to understand how easily ethnic and linguistic segregation can isolate subgroups within a society, which, some argue, is a common problem found in most complex, ethnically-plural nations (see Rabushka & Shepsle, 1972).

It could be argued that this societal wariness of social contacts across ethnolinguistic boundaries represents a search for peace and comfort that comes from being in a setting with one's "own kind" (see Lambert, 1978). If this is true, then overly enthusiastic attempts to penetrate these boundaries may be disturbing for either group. Applied to the Canadian scene, this would mean that young people who have mastered the other group's language must test cautiously how far and how quickly they can make social contacts that will be acceptable to the other group.

Perhaps the most important conclusion to be drawn from this investigation of the early immersion experience is that we have been forced to place this innovative form of language training in a broader societal context, and this leads us to a realization that we must now seek out solutions for problems of social segregation and cleavage within the Canadian society. The beginnings of a solution seem to stem naturally from the early immersion experience itself, especially from what the EI students are asking of their society: An opportunity to put their competence in

the other language to meaningful use. French Canadian students may be asking the same -- that is, similar opportunities for social contact across the common ethnolinguistic boundary. As parents, educators or political leaders, we must listen and try to understand what these young people are asking. The solutions needed are likely to be found in the questions being asked. It is our opinion that Canada, and especially Quebec, provide researchers with a wonderful field station for finding solutions which can draw on the goodwill of these two streams of young people.

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FOOTNOTE

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TABLE 1

Students' Views at Grade 11

Background Information of Students

	Student Group	
Sex	**Early Immersion (EI)**	**English Control (EC)**
Male	10	11
Female	7	10
$X^2 = 0.01$; df = 1; n.s.		
Present Grade Level		
Grade 10	1	2
Grade 11	15	17
Grade 12	1	2
$X^2 = 0.37$; df = 2; n.s.		
Public versus Private School, at Present		
Public	17	15
Private	0	6
$X^2 = 3.82$; df = 1; $p < .05$		
Native Language		
English	17	21
(100%, both cases)		

TABLE 2

Questionnaire Replies of Students at Grade 11

(EI = students in early immersion program; EC = students in English language schools with French-as-a-Second language program, thus, serving as an English language comparison group.)

1. French Language Competence

For the following four questions, please answer by marking an X in one of the nine spaces that best describes your ability in French.

	not at all (1)	barely enough to get by (3)	well enough to get by (5)	quite well (7)	like a native speaker (9)	t-test	df	p
1. I can speak French	_____ _____	_____ _____	EC=4.95 ↑ EC	EI=6.58 ↑ EI	_____ _____	3.85	36	$p < .001$
2. I can understand spoken French	_____ _____	_____ _____	EC=5.57 EC	EI=7.70 EI	_____ _____	4.92	30*	$p < .001$
3. I can read French	_____ _____	_____ _____	EC=5.14 ↑ EC	EI=7.00 ↑ EI	_____ _____	3.48	36	$p < .001$
4. I can write French	_____ _____	_____ _____	EC=4.85 ↑ EC	EI=6.11 ↑ EI	_____ _____	2.36	36	$p < .02$

*An analysis was made of heterogeneity of variance; when variances of the two groups were statistically significantly different, a tighter analysis was conducted, using reduced degrees of freedom. Actually, all 38 students (17 in the EI group and 21 in the EC group) were involved in all comparisons.

Would you consider your French good enough to:

5. Attend a French University?

	EI	EC	
YES	8	2	
NO	9	19	$X^2 = 5.02$; df = 1; $p < .02$

6. Get a job where only French was spoken?

	EI	EC	
YES	14	8	
NO	3	12	$X^2 = 5.84$; df = 1; $p < .02$

7. Do all your daily errands in French (e.g., shopping, getting car fixed)?

	EI	EC	
YES	16	12	
NO	1	9	$X^2 = 4.85$; df = 1; $p < .03$

8. To ask and give all directions in French?

	EI	EC	
YES	16	14	
NO	0	7	
N.A.	1	0	$X^2 = 7.79$; df = 2; $p < .02$

9. Attend a party where all the guests spoke French?

	EI	EC	
YES	17	12	
NO	0	8	
N.A.	0	1	$X^2 = 9.55$; df = 2; $p < .01$

10. Take High School leaving examinations in French?

(Ambiguous question; not analyzed.)

11. Read French newspapers?

	EI	EC	
YES	16	15	
NO	1	5	
N.A.	0	1	$X^2 = 3.31$; df = 2; $p > .20$ n.s.

12. Understand French T.V. and radio?

	EI	EC	
YES	17	12	
NO	0	9	$X^2 = 7.32$; df = 1; $p < .01$

II. French Language Use

Please answer the following questions by marking an X in the appropriate space and adding comments where requested.

1. How often do you speak French (outside of school) in the following situations?

		never (1)	rarely (3)	some-times (5)	often (7)	always (9)	t-test	df	p value	
(a)	with parents	EC=1.62 EI=2.00					1.22	36	p > .20	n.s.
(b)	with brothers and/or sisters	EI=1.88 EC=1.81					0.18	36	p > .85	n.s.
(c)	with other relatives	EI=1.53 EC=1.53					0.02	36	p > .98	n.s.
(d)	with friends		EC=3.33	EI=4.65			1.86	36	p < .07	n.s.
(e)	with neighbours		EC=2.05 ↑	EI=4.12 ↑			3.86	36	p < .01	
(f)	with schoolmates		EI=2.47 EC=2.71 ↑↑				-0.40	36	p > .60	n.s.
(g)	with your French teacher			EC=5.81	EI=7.94		3.10	32*	p < .01	

2. When you go to the movies, how often do you go to see films which are in:

(a)	French with English subtitles?	EC=1.80 EI=1.35 ↑↑					-1.07	36	p > .30	n.s.
(b)	French, without any subtitles?	EI=1.52 EC=1.42 ↑↑					0.24	36	p > .80	n.s.

3. At home, when you listen to the radio, how often do you listen to French stations?

never (1)	rarely (3)	some-times (5)	often (7)	always (9)	t-test	df	p value	
____	EI=2.94 ↑	EC=4.19 ↑	____	____	____	____	-1.67	36	p < .10	n.s.

4. At home, how often do you watch T.V. in French:

____	EC=2.90 ↑	EI=3.41 ↑	____	____	____	____	0.87	36	p > .40	n.s.

5. How often do you read French books, newspapers, or magazines in your spare time?

____	EC=2.90 ↑	EI=3.23 ↑	____	____	____	____	0.56	36	p > .58	n.s.

6. How much opportunity do you think you have, outside of school, to speak French now (on a day-to-day basis)?

____ none	____	EC=3.90 ↑	____	EI=6.05 ↑	____	____ a great deal	2.87	36	p < .01	

7. When you meet a stranger who you think speaks French as his native language, how often do you actually start talking to him in French?

____	____	____	EC=4.90 ↑	EI=6.70 ↑	____	____	2.30	34*	p < .03	

8. How often do French speaking people actually start speaking in French when they talk to you?

____	____	____	____	EC=5.04 ↑	EI=7.41 ↑	____	3.48	29*	p < .02	

9. When a French speaker approaches you and begins talking in French, how likely are you to answer back in French.

____	____	____	____	EC=5.85 ↑	EI=7.94 ↑	____	3.04	26*	p < .01	

10. How likely are you to answer back in English?

never (1)	rarely (3)	some-times (5)	often (7)	always (9)	t-test	df	p value	
___	EI=2.76 ↑	EC=3.80 ↑	___	___	___	___	-1.70	31*	p < .10	n.s.

11. When you start talking in French to a French speaking person, how often do they switch into English?

___	EI=3.94 ↑	EC=4.38 ↑	___	___	___	___	-0.60	32*	p > .55	n.s.

12. Do you ever avoid situations where you have to speak French?

___	EI=2.70 ↑	EC=3.80 ↑	___	___	___	___	-1.43	36	p < .16	n.s.

If so, why?
(See analysis of students' notes.)

13. Do you attend parties where only French is spoken?

	EI	EC
YES	3	5
NO	14	16

$\chi^2 = 0.004$; df = 1; p. n.s.

14. Have you taken or will you take high school leaving examinations in French?*

*The wording of this item was ambiguous; some read it as taking the typical English language high school leaving exams which have a component on skill in French, whereas others read it, as we intended, to mean taking all leaving exams in French, The data was thus not analyzed. We will eliminate this ambiguity when testing subsequent graduating classes.

15. Do you have any francophone friends?

	EI	EC	
YES	15	14	
NO	2	7	$x^2 = 1.37$; df = 1; $p > .24$ n.s.

16. What language do you use with them?

	EI	EC	
ENGLISH	0	7	
FRENCH	7	3	
ENGLISH & FRENCH	9	4	
N.A.	0	6	
MISSING DATA	1	1	$x^2 = 16.28$; df = 4; $p < .01$

17. Do you use French for errands?

	EI	EC	
YES	14	8	
NO	3	13	$x^2 = 5.84$; df = 1; $p < .02$

18. Do you use French when asking for and giving directions?

	EI	EC	
YES	14	8	
NO	3	12	
N.A.	0	1	$x^2 = 7.70$; df = 2; $p < .02$

19. Do you take part in other activities which require a knowledge of French?

	EI	EC	
YES	9	6	
NO	8	15	$x^2 = 1.43$; df = 1, $p > .23$ n.s.

III. Comments on French Language Programs

In this section we would like to comment on your participation in specific programs designed to teach you French. We would like you to assess the programs' weaknesses and strengths.

We would like to know what you think is the best way for a student to learn French: was it the way you learned or another method?

(See separate analysis of commentaries.)

IV. Plans for the Future

Finally, we would like to know something about your future plans.

1. What will you do after you graduate from High School?

	EI	EC	
College	15	20	
Work	2	1	$x^2 = 0.04$; df = 1; $p > .85$ n.s.

2. What type of occupation are you interested in?

	EI	EC	
Blue Collar	1	0	
White Collar	8	9	
Professional	7	8	
Undecided	1	4	$x^2 = 2.53$; df = 3; $p > .47$ n.s.

3. Where do you think you will be living in 4 years' time?

	EI	EC	
Quebec	6	3	
Not Quebec	8	12	
Undecided	3	6	$x^2 = 2.40$; df = 2; $p > .30$ n.s.

4. Will you continue to improve your knowledge of French?

	EI	EC	
YES	10	15	
NO	5	6	
UNDECIDED	2	0	$x^2 = 2.69$; df = 2; $p > .25$ n.s.

How? (See separate analysis of commentaries.)

5. Are you interested in learning another language?

	EI	EC	
YES	10	5	
NO	7	16	$x^2 = 3.46$; df = 1; $p < .06$

Please use the space below for any other comments you may wish to add concerning the topics mentioned in this questionnaire.

(See separate analysis of commentaries.)

TABLE 3

Questionnaire Replies of Parents After
11 Years of Immersion

I. Background Information

1. (Questions 1-8 asked for name, address, child's grade level, etc.)

2. What is your native language (i.e., the language you first spoke at home)?

Mother all English native language*
Father all English native language*

*For parents of both the Bilingual or Early Immersion students and those of the English Control group.

II. School History

1. If your child attended a late-immersion program or a French school, please give the reasons for following this course of study.

(See analysis of amounts.)

2. If your child dropped out of an early immersion program, can you remember the reason for this? Was this a good decision? Do you remember any problems or benefits resulting from this switch?

(See analysis of comments.)

III. French Language Competence

For the following four questions, please answer by marking an X in one of the nine spaces that best describes your ability in French.

	not at all (1)	barely enough to get by (3)	well enough to get by (5)	quite well (7)	like a native speaker (9)	t-test	df	p value	
1. I can speak French:									
Mother:	___	___	___ EI=3.40 ___	EC=4.25 ___	___	___	-1.57	30*	p > .12	n.s.
Father:	___	___	___ ___ ___	___	___	___	-0.51	33	p > .61	n.s.
			EI 4.53	EC 4.90						
2. I can understand French:									
Mother:	___	___	___ EI=4.20 ___	EC=4.85 ___	___	___	-0.97	33	p > .34	n.s.
Father:	___	___	___ ___ ___	___	___	___	-0.94	33	p > .35	n.s.
			EI=4.86	EC=5.50						
3. I can read French:									
Mother:	___	EI=3.93	EC=4.80 ___	___	___	___	-1.32	33	p > .20	n.s.
Father:	___	___	___ ___ ___	___	___	___	-0.61	33	p > .54	n.s.
			EI=5.06							
			EC 5.50							
4. I can write French:									
Mother:	___	EI=2.86	EC=3.65 ___	___	___	___	-1.27	33	p > .21	n.s.
Father:	___	___	___ ___ ___	___	___	___	-1.59	33	p > .12	n.s.
			EI=3.26	EC=4.45						

IV. French Language Use and Parental Involvement

1. Over the years, have you as parents encouraged your child to participate in non-academic activities which involved using French (e.g., going to theater, swimming class in French, etc.)? Please give all relevant information.

	EI	EC	
YES	13	12	
NO	2	5	
N.A.	0	3	$X^2 = 3.68$; df = 2; $p > .15$ n.s.

(See also analysis of comments.)

2. Have you as parents encouraged your child to use French in the community (asking directions, finding French friends)? Please give all relevant details.

	EI	EC	
YES	14	13	
NO	1	5	
N.A.	0	2	$X^2 = 4.07$; df = 2; $p > .13$ n.s.

(See also analysis of comments.)

3. Have you embarked on any new programs to improve your French as a consequence of your child's schooling? What have these been?

	EI	EC	
Mother:			
YES	6	4	
NO	8	14	
N.A.	1	2	$X^2 = 1.68$; df = 2, $p > .42$ n.s.
Father:			
YES	5	4	
NO	9	13	
N.A.	1	3	$X^2 = 1.14$; df = 2; $p > .56$ n.s.

4. Have you been involved in any school or educational committees? Please give instances.

	EI	EC	
Mother:			
YES	7	9	
NO	7	9	
N.A.	1	2	$X^2 = 0.12$; df = 2; $p > .94$ n.s.

Father:			
YES	1	4	
NO	12	14	
N.A.	2	2	$X^2 = 1.26$; df = 2; p > .53 n.s.

V. Comments on French Language Programs

We would like you to comment as parents on the various language programs that your child has followed: (1) Do you feel they were successful in teaching him/her French? What were its weaknesses and strengrhs? What method do you think is the best for teaching French? (2) If you had it to do all over again, how would you plan your child's education? (3)

(1) Evaluation of child's language program.

	EI	EC	
Successful	12	3	
Unsuccessful	1	11	
Other	1	0	
N.A.	1	6	$x^2 = 17.95$; df = 3; $p < .001$

(2) Best method for teaching French?

	EI	EC	
F.S.L.	1	0	
Early Imm.	8	3	
Late Imm.	0	1	
French School	0	2	
Other	1	4	
N.A.	5	10	$x^2 = 9.21$; df = 5; $p > .10$ n.s.

(3) How would you choose again?

	EI	EC	
F.S.L.	3	2	
Early Imm.	8	3	
Late Imm.	2	1	
Other	0	2	
N.A.	2	12	$x^2 = 11.46$; df = 4; $p < .02$

(See also Parents' Commentaries in Appendix.)

Please use the space below for any other comments you may wish to add concerning the topics mentioned in this questionnaire.

TABLE 4

Themes Emerging from Commentaries: Comparisons of EI and EC groups*

		Early Immersion Students (N = 18)	English Comparison Students N = 22)	Early Immersion Parents (N = 16)	English Comparison Parents (N = 20)
1) Student's working experience with French language.	Yes	33	9	25	5
	No	55	77	44	80
	No Info	11	4	31	15
2) Student capable of working in French.	Yes	72	22	75	20
	No	6	18	6	20
	No Info	22	60	19	60
3) Student capable of studying in French institution.	Yes	28	9	56	5
	No	22	27	19	20
	No Info	50	64	25	75
4) Student's attitude toward integrating with French speakers.	Positive	72	41	88	70
	Negative	17	14	0	5
	No Info	11	45	12	25
5) Motivated to stay or leave the Quebec scene.	Stay	39	18	38	30
	Leave	56	73	38	30
	No. Info	6	0	25	40
6) Student's satisfaction with potential to be fully bilingual.	Satisfied	72	27	81	20
	Little hope/ Too late	6	45	12	50
	No Info	22	27	6	30
7) Student has French speaking friends.	Yes	50	27	38	30
	No	33	50	38	10
	No Info	17	22	25	60
8) Private vs. public schooling.	Public	100	64		
	Private	0	36		
	No Info	0	0		

*Entries are percentages.

APPENDIX*

Commentaries of Students and Their Parents

I Early Immersion Pilot Group - pages 1 - 29

IIa English Comparison Groups, with FSL - pages 29 - 51

IIb English Comparison Group, with FSL plus immersion at grade 7 - pages 51 - 59

*Families marked with an asterisk were not included in the statistical analyses since either the student dropped out of the early immersion program before Grade 6 or, in the case of those in the English Control group, they had some immersion experience in elementary school before Grade 7. The English Control student from Family #14 was also not included since he did not return his questionnaire.

Appendix

Commentaries of Students and Their Parents

I. Early Immersion Pilot Group

Family #1

Immersion program up to grade 7; from 8th grade on, at Chambly County High School (CCHS). English speaking parents, minimal French for father; mother more able to understand French. Parents gave encouragement to speak French outside of school: "All sports activities (including coaching), have been bilingual. I have encouraged watching French T.V. Encouraged to use in our business." Also, "child is often called to act as translator." Parents have taken no courses to learn French. Parents have no involvement with school committees. Parents: "I think that the early bilingual program was hampered by inconsistency in standards of teaching, which was perhaps to be expected in an experimental program. (One or two of the early teachers were not up to what was required of them.) I was much impressed with the spoken French by the end of elementary school, but very disappointed at the lack of knowledge of French grammar and therefore, also the written French. Possibly later grades have corrected this problem. It was disappointing also that on reaching H.S. their French seemed to peter out, due to the fact that so few options could be offered in French. Yes, I would do the same again, but I would want to ensure that the students continued to make progress in H.S., also, rather than losing ground; would prefer to see a solid grounding in grammar during the elementary years. All in all, I am pleased with the results."

Student thinks he can speak French quite well. Student: "[illegible]nce

Kindergarten both the bilingual and immersion classes have been subject to an incredible amount of tests and interviews carried out by McGill University. As far back as I can think, I can remember the tests, the interviews, the interviewers and most of all the time that went in to writing these tests. Today when Mr. Prince was explaining this "questionnaire" he also mentioned a book that had been published about the bilingual programs. When someone asked him where we could get a copy, he replied calmly: "I'm sure if anyone of you would like to borrow this book, I'm sure it could be arranged." This seems like an ironic statement, that after 12 years at writing tests, that we should have to borrow, between us, one book with some indication of our results. Our class personally was bombarded with so many of these tests that after a period of time, we all just filled in the blank squares before even reading the questions. I think I can speak for the entire class of '77 when I say that we would appreciate either our marks or results, or a copy of the book. If this is not possible, tell us at least where we may buy the book. This sign of appreciation would be graciously appreciated by us all. Thank you in advance." After graduation? Will go to Champlain CEGEP for a year and move to Waterloo (Ontario) University to study architectural engineering. Occupation? Architectural engineering. Living in 4 years? Toronto or somewhere in Ontario. Continue to improve French? Depends. Another language? No.

Family #2

Immersion program up to grade 7; from 8 on at CCHS. English speaking parents; mother speaks minimal French, father understands well enough to get by. Encouragement outside of school to speak

French: "French T.V., swimming class in French." Mother has taken evening classes to learn French. Father takes French classes through business. No school involvement. Parent: "I think the bilingual early immersion program was successful in teaching French, and I think it appears to be a very successful way of teaching a child a second language. I feel this program had many problems at its inception--finding qualified teachers and proper textbooks were big problems. There was great variance in teaching quality from year to year in elementary school. However, since we have two other children following behind, these problems seemed to have been solved and they are the ones who are really benefitting from the experience. I would follow the same procedure, if I could plan my son's education over again, and put him in the same program. However, I would have preferred to send him to a French High School, at least for a couple of years. This was not really possible for him at the time. The high school, CCHS, offered some choices of courses in French at the grade 8 and 9 level, but by grade 10 there were no choices. I think more French courses could be offered and SHOULD be offered, otherwise, we are just wasting time and money at the elementary school level if we can not follow through more positively at the H.S. I would be interested in receiving a copy of your analysis of the outcomes."

Student feels he can speak French somewhere between "well enough to get by" to "quite well." "As I said before, I feel any shortcomings I may have in respect to my spoken French could be remedied by practice. Unfortunately, the selection of French programs in CCHS has been rather poor. In grade 8, I took Social Sciences in French, in grade 9 there was biology, but aside from actual French classes,

there has not been anything else offered, although they promised law and history courses. I was given the opportunity to take both grade 10 and grade 11 French in one year and write both final exams last June. I passed both written and spoken exams. I have no other specific complaints or suggestions other than after they have gone about providing excellent elementary school and early secondary French programs in French, that they should follow up with some French oriented courses to give students a chance to exercise the language." After graduation? I will attend Champlain College. I have opted for the social sciences program. Occupation? I have not made any definite plans as of yet. Living in the next 4 years? I plan to stay in Quebec as long as political climate allows, however, I do not plan to leave Canada. Another language? I have no uses for another language.

Family #3

Early immersion through grade 6; from 8 on at CCHS. English speaking parents; mother's French "well enough to get by," father "barely enough." Encouragement: "We have always encouraged daughter in practicing her French conversation with French playmates. Also in her later years to use her French while shopping in various stores. Mother: "I use French 80% in my work and daughter has helped me many times. Father has taken French lessons at work. Neither parent involved in school committees. Parent: "I am very satisfied with the progress daughter has made and maintained in the bilingual program. Teaching was excellent each and every year. The interest was always there. The bilingual program was our choice and hers, and it is to her benefit now more than ever. Complete immersion for the beginning years is the best in my opinion. Yes, I would

make the same choice now as I did 10 years ago."

Student thinks she can speak French "quite well," and understands "like a native." "I think that the best way for a student to learn French is to start young like I did. I also feel that if we were in a French school learning French with as much attention as we got in the English school, we would have learned faster. This way at recess, lunch, etc., instead of talking to other English students there would be French students and we would have made French friends and therefore would have used our French outside of school, more than we would have since we were in an English school." After graduation? La Salle College to study Fashion Merchandizing. Occupation? Buyer or manager. Living in 4 years time? Not in Quebec, maybe out West, hopefully in Southern U.S. Another language? Yes, but I would have like to have started learning them earlier but had no opportunity to. Sports is the activity which requires knowledge of French.

Family #4

Early immersion through grade 6; from 8 on at CCHS. Parents English speaking--both parents speak French "well enough to get by." Encouragement: "Daughter stayed with a French family in Sherbrooke in 1973 for one week which worked out well. More of this type of socializing should be encouraged. She also took swimming and dancing courses in French." Mother: "I have taken French courses but mainly because of using French at work. Father has also taken French courses. Mother has been involved in school committees. Parent: "The immersion program was great, but after grade 7 the whole program seemed to bog down. Perhaps more contact with French children would have been helpful. In St. Lambert the need to speak French was not

really strong and so the children were taught in French in school and then found little use for it outside. In all fairness I think the program did make my child bilingual; it is up to her now to carry on and make the effort to polish up her French. I feel she has a solid background. Unfortunately, "Bill #1" is making these children feel that being bilingual is not enough."

Student thinks she can speak French "well enough to get by," and understands French "quite well." "I think the best way to learn French is close to the Early Immersion course. But I believe that grammar and verbs require more study. The conversation and comprehension are well learned. The written is another matter. Perhaps we should start our written French program at an earlier age." After graduation? Champlain CEGEP in the health science program. Occupation? Nutritionist. Living in 4 years time? Ontario: I would like to attend a university there.

Family #5

Early immersion to grade 7; from 8th year on at CCHS. English speaking parents; both speak French "barely enough to get by." Encouragement: "Bilingual swimming classes. Also encouraged child to speak French with friends, but in most cases the French friends wanted to practice their English with our daughter." Neither parent has taken any courses to learn French. Mother and father have been involved in school committees (committee for bilingual education)."Daughter has been in the "lead off" immersion class since 1965. We have been very pleased with the program and the results. Except for a few mix-ups and minor difficulties which were "ironed-out" from year to year, the greatest weakness was the teaching of mathematics not only

in French, which is perhaps unnecessary, but the switching from one method of teaching math to another and back again, was confusing to daughter. She has enjoyed becoming bilingual. Would do the same again."

Student feels she can speak French "like a native." "The only time I might have trouble speaking or understanding French would be when Quebeçois French (Joual) is being used." She only speaks French with French friends who are uni-lingual (French only). If bilingual they prefer to speak English." "I like to speak French. I always have and always will. I have always been proud of the fact that I can speak two languages and this is perhaps due to my parents telling me how lucky I am. I am very keen on languages, although that is not the field I am aiming for. I wish to learn Spanish at CEGEP next year. I feel that this bilingual program was the best to use and learn French. I have learned French so well that last year, during my French oral which was judged by a complete French stranger, I was told by her that she thought that I was a French Canadian! I was the happiest person in the world. The only complaint I might have of the program is the constant switching languages of Math.: one year in French and the next year in English. I think Math should be done in English since it doesn't add much to your French vocabulary and only confused me all the way along." After graduation? Champlain CEGEP in St. Lambert next fall and go into Health Sciences. Occupation? Interested in medicine, and wish to become a pediatrician, as I love kids or work in emergency at a hospital. Living in 4 years time? With the present situation in Quebec right now, it will probably be in Ontario, hopefully not, if the situation changes.

Another language? Yes. I wish to learn Spanish next year, and maybe other languages afterwards.

*Family #6

Early immersion for two years; English stream then, having to repeat grade 1 in English. English speaking parents; mother can speak French "barely enough to get by." Encouragement: "Yes, as much as possible." But, "They do not have French friends; will speak French if they have to." Neither parent has taken special courses to improve their French. No school committee involvements for either parent. Parents comment: "His dropout of the program was on the advice of the school, the child was so unhappy. Yes, it was a good decision, he has done very well since." "My two sons were in the French program which I thought was very good. One son was taken out after two years on the advice of the school. The second child after three years. They both speak French very well, but could not handle the teaching methods of the teachers as they are both shy children, and as a result would not speak French when spoken to."

Student says he can speak French "quite well." "I changed because I didn't like the program. I now think that it was the wrong decision to make at the time. The problem I had was when I changed from French to English, I was held back one year. I should be graduating this year, but because of the program I won't graduate until next year." "For the years that I was and still am learning French I've found that there is a lot more emphasis placed on written rather than oral. I think they should teach the oral part of the French program more, because the students speak French more than they write it in everyday life. Most of my teachers don't bother with the

pronunciation all that much. I think a good way for the younger people to learn French in the written aspect would be to have French students in another school they could write to every now and again, then the French students would write back in English. This way both English and French students would be able to develop their second language." After graduation? I want to go on to CEGEP and then a university, or else go out of the province instead of going to CEGEP and to grade 12. Occupation? Go into business administration or architecture. Living after 4 years time? It's hard to tell where I'll be living, but I'd like to stay in Quebec. Another language? Only if I had the chance to use it on a daily basis or frequently. If not I'd probably forget it and it would go to waste, which would bother me. Presently at CCHS.

Family #7

Early immersion to grade 7; then English stream at CCHS. Parents English speaking; can speak French "barely enough to get by," mother understands French "quite well." How did they encourage child, outside of school, to learn French? "Son has been very active in sports, consequently has been on teams with French boys and we have always encouraged his involvement with them. Programs to improve your French? Yes, taken French courses as well as joined conversation groups in speaking French. Mother active in School Committee. "As we have a French child in early immersion (grade 1, St. Lambert Elementary), this indicates that we feel this the best solution for a child to learn French while still within the English system. We have another child in Secondary III who has also followed this program and we feel the results are perhaps better with her. This

bothers us some, but presume the reason is partly the child's attitude. However, if we had it to do over, we would, we think, follow the same course with first son as I'm sure he is reasonably well prepared in the French language and the rest is up to him. In other words, the school has done all it can. I think it would be extremely beneficial for the High School to have an exchange program with another French high school so the children can test their fluency. Perhaps this would show them their weak areas and a week or two of total immersion makes a vast improvement in speaking French as we have found with another child who missed this program."

Student feels he can speak French "quite well" and understands "like a native speaker." He has "quite a few francophone friends who are involved in sports, etc." "I think that the only way for a student to learn French is for him to practice it on the street. He can be taught the basics and the grammar in the classroom, but he must use his French or otherwise he will slowly lose it. I felt that the system was worthwhile and well composed but one of my beefs was the constant testing. I feel we should have at least been given our results to see how we were doing, though. However, I am glad I was in the program, especially now that being able to speak French is becoming more and more important." After graduation? Go to CEGEP and then work. Occupation? Might take over father's business. Living in next 4 years? In Quebec. Another language? Not really.

*Family #8

Early immersion only through grade 1. Parents English speaking; no French or "barely enough to get by." Both parents involved in Parents for Bilingual Education committee. Son dropped out in grade

l due to identification of a learning disability and advice from Montreal Childrens' Hospital Learning Centre. Under the circumstances this was the only possible course. Problems encountered in bilingual programme continued to occur in English programme. Present low achievement level in French a problem. Parents: "We have had three children each having different experiences in French Programs:

(1) First child, born 1958; English program from kindergarten to grade 3; then transferred to full French program (French school), grade 4 to 11. Then to English CEGEP. No problems, fluently bilingual.

(2) Second child, born 1960; joined St. Lambert bilingual program in Kindergarten, repeated Kindegarten, then to English grade 1 through to grade 10. Minimal knowledge of French. Has learning difficulty.

(3) Third child, born 1963; joined St. Lambert bilingual program, Kindergarten to grade 6. Now in French High School, grade VIII. Fluently bilingual. No problems.

We feel that bilingual programs gives good grounding and will probably produce a child with functional bilingualism. However, our experience indicates that only total immersion in a French school for several years produces true bilingualism. We found our children had increased motivation to learn French when in a French school. In our experience, neither the bilingual program not the standard English system provided any program designed to deal with the child with learning difficulties. We feel the standard English system provides very poor language training, again particularly for the child with learning difficulties. We would very much appreciate receiving a

copy of your analysis when completed."

Student says he can speak French "barely enough to get by." Dropped out because he was "unable to cope with French program. This turned out to be quite good for me, but it limits my French to a very simple level." He can sometimes convey his meaning by using English and French. "The best way is the early immersion plan. The system I took is too slow and as a result I know very little French." After graduation? A trip to find a college outside of the Province. Occupation? Physics and accounting. Living in 4 years time? Probably in Toronto. Another language? No. Presently at CCHS. Grade 10.

Family #9

Early immersion to grade 7; since at CCHS in English stream, with enriched French for grades 9, 10, and 11. Parent's native language is English; mother speaks no French, father speaks "enough to get by." Encouraged your child to learn French? During elementary grades daughter was enrolled in French-language swimming classes and sports programmes (field hockey and basketball), which were conducted in both languages. Programs to improve your French? Mother: studying has taken priority. Hope to enroll in a course next Fall. Father: "No, but use French whenever the occasion arises." Comments on French program: "Very enthusiastic about programme although there have been growing pains, e.g., new teachers, new programme, lack of numbers to permit greater choice of courses. Later problems unfortunately, meant the (almost) death of the programme in the high school. One solution would be to offer compulsory courses in French instead of optional ones which only add to the problem. Yes, we would do it

all over again. It's not a perfect solution, but it is about 200% better than traditional programmes."

Student feels she can speak French "like a native speaker." French friends? No, but there are neighbours with whom I speak French. Activities which require a knowledge of French? Community sports. Comments on French program: "The strengths of the early immersion program: Because I started learning French at such an early age, I am able to communicate in French much easier. The teachers who taught us were all francophone. The balance of French to English was in good proportion. The weaknesses of the early immersion program: The program was not properly continued after elementary school. I was (or we were) not among French people (children) when being taught. Probably the best way of learning French is to be in a class where you are with other French children. This forces you to speak French in and out of class. It also improves your accent, as well as introducing French speaking friends." After graduation? I plan to continue my education at Champlain Regional College, either in the Commerce or Social Science area. Occupation? It is my plan to work with children either as a special education teacher for children with learning or emotional problems or as a social worker. Living in 4 years time? I hope to be attending University in Ontario--either Queen's or Carlton. Continue to improve French? Yes, I would like to improve my knowledge of French in CEGEP and University. Another language? As a hobby, I would be interested in learning another language. Presently at CCHS.

Family #10

Son in early immersion through grade 6; since then at CCHS in English stream with FSL. Parents' native language is English. Both parents can speak French "barely enough to get by." They encouraged their child to participate in swimming class and a few theatre performances in French. Son uses French when he has to, although he has always been encouraged. His friends are mostly English speaking and other ethnic backgrounds, but not French. Parents have not taken new programs to improve their French. Mother involved in school activities. Parents' comments on program: "We feel they were successful in teaching him French, although these students had a rough time, due to different teachers, we never knew who would be teaching them next or where they were going to find one for the following year, etc. We do not profess to know which method is best for teaching French. The educators, proficient in the language, would surely be the ones to know this. However, our opinion is to know the grammar and to have a minimum of oral French and to teach it in a pleasant manner. If we had to plan his education all over again, and in this Province, the way things are now, we would have him attend elementary school and then try very hard to find the money for a private school education (English). We feel on the whole the early immersion program was good and beneficial. The fact that this was something new was no doubt the reason for our misgivings at various times. We think it helped him with his spelling in English. A second language should always be taught as such and never first. Some of the teachers in this program in the early years were perhaps not as proficient as we would have hoped for."

Student feels he can speak French "quite well." He has no French friends and uses French when necessary. He works with a French speaking person which requires a knowledge of French. No comments on program. After graduation he plans to attend CEGEP, interested in science. Thinks he will be living outside of Province of Quebec. Does not plan to continue to improve French since he is not interested in it, if he is living outside of Quebec. He is not interested in another language, because he would not use it.

Family #11

Son in early immersion to grade 7th; then to CCHS with some subjects taught in French. Parent's native language is English. Both parents speak French "barely enough to get by." They encouraged their child with French only to the extent of encouraging him to get books from the French section of the library and with French programs on T.V. Also, when the need arises to ask for information they have encouraged son to ask for it in French rather than to attempt to do so themselves. Mother has taken evening classes for adults in conversational French and grade XI French. Neither parent has been or is involved in school activities. Comments: "Son followed the early immersion programme from Kindergarten to grade 7 with very satisfactory results. It is obvious that the success or failure, or perhaps I should say the degree of success, is dependent to a large extent upon the teacher, but this is true in most learning situations. It is essential that fluency be maintained in high school with options being taken in French as well as French language arts being taken at a higher level than is nornal in an English high school. I think this programme is an excellent method of teaching French and if I had it to plan again, we would do

he same thing. I am very pleased with the results. P.S. To bear witness to my statement regarding what I would do if I have it to do again, my second son who is 3 years younger than first has followed the same programme and has just completed secondary II at CCHS and I am equally pleased with the results."

Student feels he can speak French "like a native speaker." 75% of his friends are francophones. He uses French with them usually, but their English is better than his French. He considers his French good enough to attend a French university, and intends to go to the University of Montreal to study Math and Economics. He currently works where English and French are spoken equally often. The shopkeepers are French; student speaks French and tries French first with strangers but if the person is English then he switches. He reads French newspapers, and also watches as much French T.V. as English. He rarely uses French with brothers and sisters and he has no French neighbours. If schoolmates are French he uses French with them. He reads books in French often. All his friends are bilingual: 50% of the conversation is French, 50% English. Comments: "Strengths: (1) Total immersion--no English taught at first; (2) teachers are native French speakers. Weaknesses: (1) Although student-teacher relations are in French the students talk among themselves in English; thus 80% of the communication done is in English. Best way to learn French: putting two or three anglophones in a totally French classroom, this way, as well as being total immersed in French and having a French teacher, all student-teacher and most student-student communication would be in French. (Unfortunately, the anglophone's English would suffer). This program would be implemented when the children

were young, but it would work for older students too. After graduation he plans to go to English CEGEP, French university (hopefully, La Sorbonne) and a job where either English or French is spoken. He is interested in Economics, Math, statistics, political science, etc. Thinks he will be living in Quebec or France, perhaps the U.S. or England. Plans to continue to improve French by either living in a French country or somewhere French is spoken, or reading French if he is somewhere in English world. Interested in learning German or Arabic, perhaps Italian or Russian. A personal observation: "My French teachers were from France, Belgium and North Africa, thus I speak French with not so much an English as a continental accent. I also understand only continental French; this means that on the street I have difficulty understanding some native expressions and "Joual". Although International French should be taught, "la langue du peuple" should be taught too, by Quebec teachers who know the current idioms and expressions. This problem stems from the fact that English is not a stratified language: all the classes speak the same grand old English.French, however, is stratified according to class and different classes of French should be taught." Presently at Champlain Regional College.

Family #12

Son in early immersion to grade 7; from 8th on at CCHS with some subjects taught in French. Parents' native language is English. Mother can speak French "barely enough to get by," and father can speak French "quite well." They encouraged their child to participate in French sports programmes only. Exposure to French children who are bilingual and coaching, also bilingual (in other words, not

concentrated French). Mother had taken no new programs to improve her French but father had taken language courses in business French. Mother involved in school committees. Comments: "This child was involved in the pilot program. Primary grades were particularly disorganized (no French readers till April, change in Math program, etc.) These children developed a very strong bond with one another, a unique situation in today's world of transients. They became difficult to manage as a group. Discipline problems, and how. Many stories came to our knowledge after they left elementary school. The most frustrating experience as parents was not being able to help with homework, extra assignments, etc. where to find books at the right level. Thinking back I can remember friends asking whether the program affected the children emotionally or psychologically. Ridiculous! He is extremely well adjusted, a joy to live with; his greatest asset being his love for people. One weakness of the program was that the children always reverted to English on the playground, naturally, which left only a few hours of concentrated French, and even less as they were weaned to English. I would have preferred a more concentrated French, at least to grade 4. Presently both languages did not give enough opportunity to learn the skills well of either one. Sentence structure, spelling and general reading for enjoyment has suffered in his French and his English. To do it all over again--Kindergarten to grade 4 with strong traditional English program, then French immersion."

Student feels he can speak French "quite well" and understands "like a native speaker." He does not think his French is good enough to attend a French university, not at the present moment, but he does

have a job this summer where 80% of the language spoken will be French. He uses French for errands, but would rather talk English. He finds it much easier to work in English. He can read French O.K., but has no speed in reading. Watches T.V. in French but most of the French shows are sick. Always uses French with teacher, often with neighbours and sometimes with friends. He does not attend parties where only French is spoken because he does not hang around with French people, but he does have French friends. He feels that by taking exams in English, he would get a better mark. Sports is the activity that requires a knowledge of French, which he takes part in. After graduation he plans to go to English CEGEP. Interested in Commerce, and working in the business world. He has no idea where he will be in 4 years time. Plans to continue to improve French by talking it. Not interested in another language. "If a person does not have a great knowledge in English, then I will talk French to them. If I feel that they talk better English than I do French I will talk English to them. It depends greatly upon the one you are talking to and what kind of a mood you are in. "Presently at CCHS, 11th grade.

Family #13

Daughter in early immersion to grade 7; from 8 on at CCHS with some subjects taught in French. Parents' native language is English. Both parents can speak French "well enough to get by." They encouraged their child to participate in French swimming class and French T.V. Mother and father have taken French immersion programs to improve their French. No school involvement. No comments on program.

Student feels she can speak French "quite well", and considers her French good enough to attend a French University. She has a job

in hospital with French supervisor. Will not take exams in French because she considers school hard enough in English. She reads French newspapers. Always uses French with French teacher, often with neighbours, sometimes with friends. Does not attend parties where only French is spoken because none of her friends are French; if they were she would not hesitate to go. Her francophone friends are neighbours and people that she associates with when playing sports. She uses French with them. She practices her French mainly doing sports where the majority are French and at work. Comments: "I think the program was very good. Although, when it came to learning English verbs, I was very bad at it. When we reached high school we had a complete change; it went from all French to all English. We lost a considerable amount of French that we had learned. Learning French in High School was extremely boring. We did not learn anything new. Perhaps if it had been more balanced things would have worked out better. This way we're inadequate in both. I feel that it was a great idea and has helped me a lot. These days when everything is French, my schooling has helped me a lot." She plans to go to the Mother House and be a legal secretary after graduation. She has not decided what type of occupation, but feels if she can learn the skills of a secretary she will be able to get a job. In 4 years time she plans not to be living in Quebec; she finds that French is becoming overpowering; she feels they have gone too far and should have left things the way they were. Will she continue to improve French? If she plans to stay it will be a necessity. She will continue to take French as a course. Another language? Yes, she feels the more languages you can speak the better you can

communicate with others.

Family #14

Daughter had early immersion to grade 5 and then moved to Ontario. From 6th on, English programs. Parent's native language, English; mother speaks French "well enough to get by," father speaks "quite well." Parents encouraged child to participate in non-academic activities in order to improve her French, while they were in St. Lambert, but not too frequently. It was a question of availability. Theater, field hockey lessons, etc. They encouraged daughter to speak French at every opportunity. Mother has not taken new programs to improve her own French, while the father has taken a Berlitz course when in Montreal. Neither one has participated in school activities. Comments: "In 1971, the year we left St. Lambert, daughter was bilingual. Unfortunately her French has not improved. She has continued to take French at school. We are encouraging her to attend Etienne Boule in grade 13. The program she attended in St. Lambert was excellent. The program was most successful in teaching her French. The only weakness appeared to be a very slow learning stage for English, particularly composition. Early immersion is the best method, and if we were to do it over again, we would follow the same method. It is unfortunate that we were transferred part way through the program."

Student can speak French "well enough to get by," to understand it "quite well." She dropped out of program because "my father was transferred to Ontario in his job. I wish I had kept up my French because now I have lost a great deal of it." She feels her French is not adequate for a university or a job, but is good enough for

errands, directions and reading a newspaper. She would like going to a party where only French was spoken. She understands French radio and T.V., as long as they don't speak too quickly. She rarely uses French with parents and family, sometimes with friends and neighbours and often with French teacher. She just has a girlfriend neighbour who is a francophone, and they usually speak French. Comments: "I feel the program that I was in was the best way to learn French. I just wish that I could have kept up with my French. All my other friends are still in the program and learning a great deal. When my family moved to Ontario, I was entering grade six. The French that was then given me wasn't even comparable to my first year in kindergarten. I also helped the teacher out when some of the kids couldn't understand what was going on." She is not exactly sure what she'll be doing after graduation from H.S., but probably will use her French in the airline business. She plans to work as a flight attendant. In 4 years time she "would like to live in Quebec, but not with the separatism business going on." She would like to continue to improve her French by taking French in high school. Right at the moment she is learning German. She is going into her third year. Presently at George S. Henry Secondary High School, grade 11, Ontario.

Family #15

Son in early immersion to grade 7; then to CCHS with social science course in French, and FSL. Mother's native language, English; father's native language, French. Mother can not speak French at all; father speaks French "quite well." No particular encouragement for child to learn French outside of school. Mother had not taken any special programs to learn French. Father has, but not as a consequence

of the child's schooling. No school involvement from either parent. Comments: "They feel the program was fairly successful in teaching child French. Weakness lay in the fact that the children were with anglophones--therefore used French only at school. But on the positive side they have far more French than children who only took French as a day to day subject. For an anglophone who wanted to be bilingual this method is very good. We would do the same thing again (placing child in immersion program)."

Student can speak French "well enough to get by," to understanding it "quite well." Does not consider his French good enough to attend a French university butconcerning a job in French he feels that "with a little practice he could probably work effectively." He uses French for errands, and to ask and give directions. Sometimes but not often he reads French newspapers. He finds it "hard to understand French when they speak quickly and he tries to avoid speaking to people he doesn't understand." Does not attend parties where only French is spoken because "none of my friends are French save for a few acquaintances I don't know very well." He usually uses French with them. Comments: "From what I can remember of the French program, not enough effort was made to force us to speak French. Many times during a class I would talk to my neighbour in English. If we had been trained the first few years to talk in French all the time in class this would have led to greater improvement of my French over the years. I never realized that our class was any different from the others and didn't realize the great opportunity to learn French I had. Had I known earlier I might have made a greater effort to learn French in those years. The best way to learn French would be to place a child in an

all French class for a few years. If he or she wanted to talk to someone he or she would be forced to speak in French, something we never had to do. The way we were taught French does give us definite advantage over students who weren't in the bilingual class." After graduation plans to go to CEGEP (English) to be a doctor. He does not think he'll stay in Quebec, because of political climate. Doubts if he will continue to improve French. Not interested in another language. Presently at CCHS, grade 11.

Family #16

Early immersion to grade 6; since then to CCHS with Math in French. Parents native language usage English. Mother can barely speak enough French to get by, father speaks French "like a native speaker." "Son dropped out of French program at grade 6 level. His French was very good, but I was very unhappy with his English. He was placed in the normal flow at High School and as far as I can see has never been able to catch up on the English program." Encouraged child to use French? As often as possible he communicated in French. He has been employed (part time) by Eatons in Montreal as a salesman. As of the last two years he has worked in St. Lambert selling in a audio store. Parents have not taken any special courses to learn French. No school activities or involvement either. Comments: "I had enrolled both of my boys in the bilingual program at the elementary school. First son was participating until grade 7. I think his French education has been excellent, but his English has suffered badly. I think that a full English program along with the French should be started earlier in the school system. My second child (grade 10) was started in the same program and at grade 3, I

took him out and placed him in the English language stream. Then boy has done much better with both languages and I attribute this to having full exposure to English sooner. I now have a third boy in Kindergarten in the French program in the elementary school and I plan on submitting him to English in grade 1. I am confident he could cope with both languages at this early age."

Student feels he can speak French "quite well," and understands it "like a native speaker." The reason for dropping? "The reason for this was because my English was very poor. My English has improved." He feels his French is good enough to attend a French university and to get a job. He uses French for errands, asking directions, parties, reads newspapers in French. Never uses French with family, sometimes with friends and neighbours and French teacher. Very few of his friends are French. (4 francophone friends and he uses both English and French with them). The best way to learn French is "by watching T.V., by reading French newspapers and by working or being with French people." After graduation he plans to go to CEGEP, interested in Engineering in the United States (better education in recording engineering). He does not plan to continue to improve his French. He would be interested in learning German. CCHS, grade 11.

Family #17

Early immersion up to 6, repeated 6th grade. From 7th grade on, CCHS, English stream with FSL. No parents questionnaire available. Native language spoken at home, English.

Student: "Right up to grade 7, I was in immersion program and I changed into all English stream except for one French class a day. The reason why was because my verbs and parts of speech in English

was a little hard. I think it was a good decision because the good benefit with that one French class a day was really easy and that now I can handle both languages fairly well." He feels he can speak French "quite well" and understands it "like a native speaker." He does not consider his French good enough to go to a French university but as far as getting a job, "he is working now and a lot of the people whom I talk with that are French." He could do his errands in French with a bit of difficulty, and he would prefer to do them in English. He has not found it difficult to ask and give directions in French. Yes, he would like to attend a party where French was spoken since it would give him a chance to practice his French. "I took everything right up to grade seven in French so it would not be hard to take exams in French." Does not read French newspapers because there are a lot of words he still doesn't understand. Sometimes he uses French with parents, as father is bilingual. He also uses it with other relatives and with friends often. He has francophone friends and seems to get along fine with them. Most of the time he uses French with them. Comments on program: "Most of my teachers in the earlier years were from France and I picked up French with quite ease. The best way I think is that you have to like the language and if you like it you will want to keep working at it. Also get some French friends and be amongst French people and that I think is the best way." After graduation he would like either to become an insurance broker or an electrician. He is interested in electronics and working with electricity. He will probably stay in Quebec, and yes he will continue to improve his French by talking with French people. No, not interested in another language. Presently, at CCHS, grade 10.

Family #18

Early immersion to grade 7, from 8 on at CCHS with French subjects in English stream. No parents questionnaire available. Native language at home: English.

Student can speak French "quite well." She feels her French is good enough for a French university, but would not get a job where only French was spoken. French good enough for errands, directions, parties, exams, newspapers. Never uses French with parents, rarely with relatives, often with friends, and with French teacher. When she talks with someone who is French, she feels more at ease speaking in English than French. She has about 15 francophone friends and it depends if they can speak English; if not, she speaks French with them. Comments: "I think the way I learned was the best way to learn French. Although, I should have practiced more. One thing that I thought was a weakness was that we were taught Parisien French and not Canadian French. The accents of French Canadians is much different from ours. After graduation she will be attending the Champlain CEGEP; after that, she is not certain about future plans. She is interested in either being a stewardess or doing social work. She would still like to be living in Quebec, but she may be going to Ontario. She will continue to improve her French with her friends and by taking French in the CEGEP. She would also like to learn Spanish. CCHS, grade 11.

Family #19

Early immersion to grade 7; from 8 on, English stream with social studies in French at CCHS. English speaking parents. Both parents speak French "barely enough to get by." Encouragement of child to

learn French? Yes, but with very little success. What I think of as "encouragement" he thinks of as "coercion." So if he resisted swimming classes in French because his friends weren't going, etc., I didn't push it, as I don't want life to be one long pushing of French. Constant "selling" led to resistance so I soft-pedalled it. His friends are English, and it's my impression that he asks directions, etc., in English if possible." Mother has taken courses to improve her French, but "not as a consequence of son's schooling; I would like to speak French for my own sake and have taken numerous French courses, including weekend immersion, but I don't use the language and forget what I've learned. Father has taken no programs to improve French. Mother very involved in education and school committees. Comments: "The only program I have first-hand experience with is the St. Lambert early immersion program which my son attended from kindergarten through Secondary V. How can I say which method is "best" when all I can go on is reports from proponents of various programs--each group insisting that their program is best. I would think very seriously before enrolling another child in the early immersion program. I am not nearly as enthusiastic about it as I was. It would depend on the child and many variables. (Separate letter with details was sent with many valuable suggestions for improvement, especially need for better follow-through at High School level.)

Son feels he can speak French "quite well" and understands "like a native speaker." He does not consider his French good enough for a French university because he is in sciences and he wouldn't understand the terminology; otherwise, yes. His French is good enough for a job in French, to do daily errands, to ask and give directions

"but sometimes, I hesitate because some French people make me feel uncomfortable." Also, good enough French to attend parties, take examinations in French, read newspapers, understand French T.V. and radio which he does quite a bit. He even has certain programs that he watches regularly. Rarely uses it with relatives, sometimes with friends, often with neighbours and always with French teacher. Sometimes he goes to French movies, does not feel he has any opportunity to use French on a day-to-day basis outside of school, although he has francophone friends and uses both English and French with them. He does not take part in other activities which require a knowledge of French. Comments: "I think the program was a complete success while we were in elementary school. When I was in grade 7, I felt I could speak French with much ease. If French was continued to be taught at that level throughout High School, I would feel more at ease in speaking French. I feel I lost a lot of my French after grade 7. After graduation he plans to go to university, perhaps McGill, interested in Biological Sciences. In 4 years time he thinks he will be outside the province but that depends where he is accepted for university. He will try to hold the level of French he now has, and would like to learn German or Spanish but doubts if he will. CCHS, Secondary 5.

IIa English Comparison Group: Conventional English Language Schooling with French-as-a-Second Language

Family #1

Native language, English. Both parents can speak French "well enough to get by." Encouragement of child to learn French? T.V. but children were not interested, non-cooperative. Parents have not taken

any courses to learn French. No school involvement. Parents' comments: "For the most part the French programs have been boring, repetitive and just a series of learning verses, etc. My oldest child was involved with an extraordinary teacher at Westmount and spent two summers in Switzerland. Next oldest, the student we are describing here, only developed his skill in French this year under the direction of another teacher who encouraged him to use his French in all possible situations. He taught a course in photography in French which had a tremendous impact. Most of his teachers with the exception of the teacher referred to above and a teacher at L.C.C. (a private school) have been totally inadequate. They have left, they have been replaced, etc. so his French schooling has been a disaster until this year. This is a boy who is a very high achiever--85%-95% without trying."

Student himself feels he can speak French "well enough to get by" and understands it "quite well." He went to Berlitz one summer simply because "I WANTED" to learn French, not because I had to, it was my choice." His French is not good enough for a French university, but for a job "laying bricks, yes, as a computer analyst, no." He does errands in French, gives and asks directions in French, no exams in French, "because the vocabulary involved in Physics and Math are too complex." Rarely uses French with family, sometimes with friends and schoolmates. Does not attend parties in French because "he's never been invited to one," does not have any francophone friends and avoids opportunities and activities which require a knowledge of French. Student's comments: "In a word, the French program stinks. I have had around 9 years of it and have really not progressed as I

should have. The personnel is really horrible. This year is the first in 8 that I have had a good teacher. I have been willing and anxious to learn, but with teaching staffs so poor, my chances have been limited. This year I received my first good teacher and my French has improved 100%. I now am much more open-minded towards the problem that exists, and capable of trying to contribute. I am capable for the first time of communicating in French, and I owe it all to the teacher I had this year. All it took was one individual. If there were more like him I would have been bilingual a long time ago. Also, the way the course is taught and all its stresses are wrong. I am not knowledgeable to inform you on what should be done. Why don't you contact (teacher named) at Westmount High School? He i the head of the French Department, and the man that made me love French for the first time. "After graduation he plans to go to university to be either a doctor or lawyer. He plans to stay right here, because "I love Montreal, and do not want to ever leave." Will continue to improve French by taking summer courses, and using his present ability in everyday situations. Another language? Only French. Westmount High, grade 11.

Family #2

Parents' native language, English; neither one can speak French at all. No encouragement of child to learn French. Neither parent has been involved in courses to learn French. Mother involved in PTA committee. No involvement in school for father. Parents' comments: "We were disappointed with French teaching in regular English Quebec Protestant Schools. One son got the opinion that Ontario did a better job teaching French than Quebec Protestant Schools. This is a

very old problem. I (father) went through 12 years of Quebec schooling and never learned to speak French. Son in question can speak French "barely enough to get by." Has never come across any French speaking people. There are no activities in Ontario which require a knowledge of French."

After graduation, will go to university and major in math or science. Does not have the "faintest" idea where he'll be in 4 years' time. Will continue to improve French by studying French at school. He is not interested in learning another language. Presently at Sir Wilfred Laurier Collegiate, grade 10 advanced, in Ontario.

*Family #3

Son was in early immersion for kindergarten only. Parents native language, English; mother can speak French "well enough to get by," father "not at all." Encouragement of child to learn French? Yes, to some extent. Neither parert has taken courses to learn French. Mother has been involved in Parent Committee. No involvement from father. Parents' comments: "In our case French Immersion (bilingual) did not work and our son was withdrawn early, we can offer no comment." "Withdrew from program after kindergarten year as we felt it was not the right learning program for our son." "For this reason we felt our son did not have to fill in the students' questionnaire as it is not relevant."

Student himself says he can speak French "barely enough to get by," and he avoids situations where he has to speak French because "English is our 1st language in Canada." No francophone friends. Uncertain after graduation, uncertain about occupation, and would leave Quebec if things get worse. Will not continue to improve

French, uncertain about learning another language. CCHS, grade 10.

Family #4

Father's native language, English; mother's Dutch. They both can speak French "well enough to get by." Have not encouraged child to learn French. As a consequence of child's schooling they took advanced adult French classes. Mother involved with parent committee. None for father. Parents' comments: "While secretary of the Parents Committee in St. Lambert, we were quite involved in trying for a better French education, without having the child attending either immersion, or French classes. My own feeling was that the calibre of French education given to children in our schools was very poor due mainly to the fact that the persons teaching French were seldom more than one step ahead of the material they were teaching. Another member of the parent committee and myself have made numerous requests to the school board in order to get a better method of teaching French instituted, but to no avail. Of course, I must add that we are now located in Ontario and I do understand that the teaching of French has somewhat improved. However, from what I can judge by several of my husband's relatives living in St. Lambert, the young children are all attending the French immersion classes from kindergarten on."

Student feels he can speak French "barely enough to get by." He is not attending any French classes. Does not have any French friends. Does not use French for anything. After graduation he plans to study law. He will be living in Toronto in the next 4 years' time. Will not continue to improve French. Not interested in learning another language. Presently at Sir John A. McDonald Collegiate, grade 12, Ontario.

Family #5

Parents' native language, English. Mother can speak French "barely enough to get by," father "well enough to get by." Encouragement of child to learn French? Yes, i.e., ballet lessons, diving lessons, horse back riding. Child has French friends. Parents have not taken courses to improve French. No school involvement from either parent. Parents' comments: "Living with a French family say for the summer months would probably lead to a good command of the French language as spoken in Quebec. Several children that we know who started in the French immersion program from kindergarten failed miserably academically and had to return to the English stream, only to stay a year behind all through high school."

Student says she can speak French "well enough to get by," uses French for errands and directions, sometimes uses French with brother and sisters, often with friends, often listens to French radio and T.V., and has francophone friends whom she meets at stable where she has a horse. She uses French with them. Other activities which require a knowledge of French are diving, ballet courses, horseback riding, coursesin French. Plans to go to college, and interested in a type of occupation that has a lot to do with animals. An outdoor life. She plans to live in the U.S. Also plans to continue to improve French by practicing regularly, by trying to talk to many of my French friends, by taking a real interest in the language. Not interested in learning another language. CCHS, secondary 5.

Family #6

Mother's native language, English; father's, English. Mother can not speak French at all; father understands "well enough to get

by." Encouraged child to take ballet in French. She also (child) babysits for three French Canadian children. Neither parent has taken courses to improve French. Mother involved in school activities. None for father. Parents' comments: "I don't believe they were successful in teaching French. My daughter helped herself by having French friends and by babysitting for a French Canadian family. Young people with completely English backgrounds are very shy about speaking French unless they are in a completely French environment."

Student feels she can speak French "well enough to get by." Would get a job where only French was spoken, in fact she did "at McDonald's although "ungross patates"is not too hard to understand." Attends parties where only French is spoken since "most of my friends outside of school speak only French and they do not understand any English, except when swearing." She has read French newspapers and book histories in French. She watches French T.V. a lot when she is at a friend's house or babysitting, and listen to French radio most of the time." Often uses French with friends and French teacher. Her boyfriend is French. With friends she uses only French because, except for her boyfriend who speaks English perfectly, they can't understand any English." Student's comments: "I did not learn French from the method taught to my class. I couldn't use it on the streets. We were taught European French. What good is it going to do me here? My French friends have tried to help me in French, for example, translating a chapter of a book we were studying in French class. It took 4 hours for 3 guys to translate every word with me orally. These guys are not stupid either. They are all grade 12 students at Msg. Parent on the South Shore. The book is called Le

Chien Jaune by George Simeon. This is a really stupid book for a French class. Besides being too drawn out and with too many details, it is written in Europe and the language is almost impossible to understand unless you happen to have a dictionary beside you and can look up every word. The French system used on me was totally useless. By grade 8 all the French I knew was strictly from repetition. I did not understand. Now I can speak French all right, but the school system had absolutely nothing to do with it." She plans to attend Champlain College in St. Lambert in the social sciences to study probably something to do with criminal law and abnormal psychology. She is interested in something involving law, psychology, business and medicine. Maybe she'll "go into business and open a tropical fish store or mail-order office." She'll be living in Montreal, St. Lambert, or West Palm Beach, Florida. "My fiancé is hoping to make the Expos. He tried out last summer and will most likely be offered something. I've been to West Palm Beach a lot and I love it there." Will you continue to improve French? "Yes, if we decide to stay in Quebec. Our children will be taught French as their first language, English if we go to the States." She in interested in taking Greek in college. "I would like to say that I think all these tests are useless. Do you know what it is like to be a guinea pig? Would you like to sit and play with blocks and write all these tests while a couple of McGill students are observing you and taking notes on your behaviour. Not once did we get results of these tests. Our parents did not get the results either. I went through phases after these tests wondering "Why me?" We were told that there was another student in the bilingual system that was

having to same tests and my results were being compared with hers. This was all I knew about it. If we want to learn French, we learn. The system had ways of teaching French faster, but they don't work for everyone. The year I learned the most French in school that I related and could use in the streets was last year when we had the books on Charlebois,, The Fall, Wister, etc. That stuff is something we could talk about to another person, but talking about Inspector Maigret and Leroy in Le Chien Jaune is boring. Who wants to hear about that stuff? We wasted nearly the whole year on that stupid book. I think the French head or whoever chooses the books for the French courses could have found something more for sixteen and seventeen year olds. In Quebec that book is useless. Maybe the schools in Paris for American kids could use it, but using the language in it with some people just makes them laugh. They have never heard of such words. And they are French." CCHS, grade 11.

Grade #7

Parents' native language, English. Mother can speak French "barely enough to get by;" father "quite well." Encouragement for child to learn French? "When we moved to P.E.I. son was going into grade 4. Previously he played with a French speaking child. Since 1969 there has been little opportunity. He spent 10 days in Quebec with his French class in 1977." Mother took French lessons weekly for a number of years. Father is fairly fluent. Mother had been involved in school committees. Parents' comments: "In P.E.I., Charlottetown, we now have a successful early immersion French program. I would certainly enroll any child of suitable age and aptitude in an immersion program."

Student feels he can speak French "well enough to get by." He avoidssituations where he has to speak French because "he has problems with the French language." He has no friends who speak French, as he attends an English school. He has one francophone friend and he uses partly French and English with him. Student's comments: "I took French only as a subject. I think the best way to learn French is to be put in contact with a French family." He plans to go to university. Does not know what he'll do as occupation; plans to stay in Charlottetown, P.E.I., will continue to improve French by taking it as a subject in school, not interested in other language unless he needs to. Coronel Grav High School, grade 11, Charlottetown, P.E.I.

Family #8

Parent's native language, English. Mother can speak French "quite well;" father "well enough to get by." Encouragement for child to learn French? "He has been encouraged to do all kinds of things, but he is a very shy person and sticks with same group of old friends. He is now planning to join the army reserve where he hopes to be with French and English young men and will perhaps lose his inhibitious about using French." Mother has taken no courses to improve French. Father: Continuously studying French, numerous courses at YMCA, University of Montreal, and continuing education. Mother involved in school committees; none for father. Parents' comments: "The French instruction was started in grade 1, but there was no written French until grade 6 which was definitely not early enough. French language taught by teachers who are either English or from France has given them a basis, but an inability to understand the French Canadian pronunciation and patois. I would like to see French Canadian teachers

teaching French for Canadian usage as well as a more elegant French. The bilingual program is probably best, but we did not feel that our son could successfully manage it. If we were to do it all over, we would put him in the same program with the addition of French summer camps each summer."

Son feels he can speak French "barely enough to get by," but understands it "quite well." He uses French for errands, for T.V. and radio, sometimes with neighbours and French teacher. Does not go to parties in French because he does "not go to parties very often." He has one good francophone friend, and one or two others, but uses English when talking with them. He uses French for errands but "it depends whether the guy is French or English, who I am talking to." Plans to go to CEGEP, would like to study Engineering. Living in 4 years' time: depends mostly on what his parents want to do; probably stay in Quebec, but would leave if separated. Will continue to improve French by living in Quebec, and he is not interested in another language. CCF3, grade 11.

Family #9

Parents' native language, English. Mother can speak French "barely enough to get by;" father can speak French "quite well." No answers for encouragement of child to learn French. No answers for new programs for improvement of French for the parents. No involvement in school activities for mother. Father was involved in school activities. Parents' comments: "Daughter's fluency in French is due to: the high quality of the teaching at her (private) school; the fact that she is a hard working student; and her attractive and outgoing personality that enables her to communicate well with French

and English speakers."

Student feels she can speak and understand French "quite well." From 7th grade on she attended Miss Edgar's and Miss Cramp's (School). She considers her French good enough to attend a French university, "although the first year would be fairly difficult and would require much effort." She could get a job where only French was spoken has used French in many situations; e.g., (directions, parties, etc.) She uses French with friends often, sometimes with schoolmates and always with school teacher. She has francophone friends and uses both languages. She participated in other activities which required a knowledge of French like "I just participated in a bike trip where 50% of the people were French." "For my personal case, the program of English only was excellent. I achieved a solid grounding in both oral and written French. In addition, the level of French at the school I attended for the past 5 years is extremely high. Therefore, I learned much French in the time I had. I am also happy that I followed the program that I did because I was able to develop my English thoroughly. I have noticed that the English skills of some of my friends who attended immersion programs are not up to their potential. I prefer to develop one language fully and a groundwork in the other, rather than a mediocre level in both. I was lucky to have had the opportunity to develop my French outside of school. I have many friends who are French and have participated in many activities where French was spoken. This is possibly why my French is fairly good without having followed an immersion program. All the same, with a basic understanding in French, anyone can develop their French in this province if they so desire. In addition to helping my French,

my friends helped me understand the French peoples' political, social and cultural position in Quebec and Canada--something I couldn't have learned in school." She plans to attend an English CEGEP, and an English University. Does not know what type of occupation. Living in 4 years' time? Montreal, most probably. She will continue to improve her knowledge of French by taking courses and speaking French on a day-to-day basis. She is also interested in another language. Presently at Miss Edgar's and Miss Cramp's School, grade 11.

Family #10

Parents' native language, English. Mother's French "well enough to get by," father can speak French "quite well." No answers on encouragement, new programs to improve their French or school involvement. No comment on program either.

Student feels she can speak French "quite well." She was at Roslyn school till grade 5, from 6 on at private school (St. Clements School in Toronto). She feels that French education in Ontario is entirely inadequate for the purpose of going to a French university. She would attend a French party, but she feels that the "guests would have to put up with several faults in her spoken French." She uses French for errands, newspapers, etc. She does not understand French T.V. and radio because "I find that the programs progress too quickly and the speakers talk too quickly. However, I find French plays easier to understand. Rarely uses French with friends, often with French teacher. She does not attend parties where only French is spoken: "this is a result of a lack of social functions in this language." Does not have any francophone friends. Ontario has little opportunity for the use of French outside of school (for errands,

directions, etc.) Comments: "Within my educational career I have seen French taught in several different methods. At Roslyn school where I attended primary school the focus of the French program was on the oral aspects of the language. This background could account for my own personal ability to converse in French far better than I can write the language. From that type of environment I went to a small girls' private school in Westmount. There was a far more integrated system. We had two teachers, one for grammar which we had 2 times a week with about 12 in the class; 3 classes a week we had literature course in which we read such novels as "Sans Famille" by Hector Malot. In addition to this I was taught geography in French. One good aspect of the French system in Quebec was that all my teachers never admitted to speaking English although since I have heard that some of them had excellent English. In the middle of grade 7 I went to Ontario, again in another girls' private school of excellent academic standard. However, this being a province in which French was spoken very little, I found myself back in classes learning what I had learned several years before. The teachers here spoke English, most often concentrating on the grammatical aspects of the language, which I consider to be a weakness. Just recently, after four years in this system, I do feel that I have returned to the level I was at after I left Montreal. This past year, however, greater emphasis has been put on the oral part of the course, which I consider to be an improvement, as I believe that French classes should be conducted in French. Thus when teaching the grammar, the oral ability of the students is increased. However, I believe the ideal to be total immersion, until a competency in the language is achieved."

She is planning to attend a university in Ontario such as Western, where she would like to take French or English as a major. Occupation? One job that I am considering is something connected with translating or teaching French or English as a foreign language. However, at the present I am still undecided. Living in next 4 years? As I intend to continue with my education perhaps I will take a graduate degree in the States or again in Ontario. After that I hope to spend several years living in Europe, preferably in France, in Paris or even . . . . . or a city of that size. I intend to become bilingual through a university education as well as spending some time in France in the future. Another language? Yes, very definitely. As I have taken 4 years of Latin I would find Italian somewhat easy to learn. Then again, a knowledge of German may be helpful or ancient Greek, should I decide to take classics at University. Presently at St. Clements Private School (Toronto), grade 12.

Family #11

Student was in English Control group up to grade 5, then to Lower Canada College (private). Parents' native language, English. Both parents can speak French "well enough to get by," and understand it "quite well." Encouragement? "Have tried to encourage this, but difficult to do with a boy on an individual basis." "We live in a very English community. Therefore how can one find French friends? Up until now it hasn't even been necessary to ask directions in French so a child would be very reluctant to do so." New programs for parents to improve French? Yes, listening to French radio occasionally and French T.V. on occasion. Father uses a bit more conversational

French in business. Mother had been involved in school functions. Parents' comments: "My son has followed only a normal course of learning French in an English school. He has not been in an immersion program or accelerated French program. The weaknesses are that the time allocated to French was not enough. He is graduating this year and is not bilingual but has possibly a minimum working language of French,but barely enough to get by. If I had to do it over again: I would choose an immersion program in an English school until grade 5, or a 60% English and 40% French until grade 5. Then grade 6 in a TOTAL FRENCH SCHOOL, followed by Grade 7 back in an English school, at 50% English, 50% French. Then grade 8--60% English, 40% French (French matriculation); Grade 9--60% English, 40% French (French matriculation); Grade 10--70% English, 30% French (French interest courses); Grade 11--70% English, 30% French (French interest courses); or--same plan as above but Grade 7 in a total French school and grade 6 would be 50% English, 50% French. I think by grade 8 it is essential to perfect English reading and writing (and composition) skills and be provided with a good English literature course. The reason for my plan is that I have a good comparison study of my own two children. One (to whom this was addressed) in a normal English school with no increased French and the other a girl who has gone through the Roslyn School immersion program and is now finishing grade 8 in Westmount High School, still in the immersion stream. She is fairly bilingual but one year in a French school would have made her truly bilingual and able to communicate in the Montreal community, which she can't really do yet. I believe this year of French school would finalize their bilingualism Without it they will never be completely bilingual.

Student can speak French "barely enough to get by." He does not seem to have any use for French. He has one francophone friend and they use English. Comments: "I have only taken French courses in school--no other programs." The best way to learn French would probably be to live with a French family for a few weeks. "I have only learned French in school." After graduation he plans to go to CEGEP and then to university. He is interested in business or commerce. Does not know where he'll be living in 4 years' time. He will continue to improve French "by listening to French radio and by sometimes having conversations in French with others." Not interested in another language. Presently at Lower Canada College, grade 11.

Family #12

Student was in English Control group at Roslyn till grade 5; then to Ottawa in an English program. Parent's native language, English. Mother can speak French "well enough to get by," father "quite well." Encouragement: "Daughter was at camp Colline aux Nuages for 2 summers. This is a bilingual camp. She was there in '73 and '74. The whole family spent July, 1967 in Brittany, France, when child was seven. They have encouraged daughter to speak French but in "Ottawa the opportunities to speak French do no occur as frequently as in Montreal." Neither parent has embarked in new programs to improve French. Mother, no school involvement. Father, university professor and president of a university. Parents' comments: "If I remember correctly, daughter was just one year ahead of the first French immersion class at Roslyn but given her difficulties in coping with academic matters, we probably would have opted for

regular classes anyway. She tends to over-estimate her fluency in French but she does have a good ear and the early exposure enabled her to develop a very good accent. She is not reluctant to use her French. (Daughter did attend a French nursery school and kindergarten.) We intended to place her in the Notre Dame de Sion bilingual program but the school told us that she would not be able to cope with the program. I think their assessment was correct as she had to repeat grade 1 at Roslyn where she was enrolled in the regular program."

Student feels she can speak French "barely enough to get by." She does not seem to have any need for French. She has francophone friends but uses English because they are usually bilingual. Comments: "Best way, to take French immersion courses or take a French course during the summer." After graduation she plans to go to college and take a child care course. Living in 4 years' time? She has no idea where. Will she continue to improve her French? Yes, because I still have a few more years at high school, and also if I ever move back to Quebec, I will probably also improve it. Not interested in another language. Presently at Fisher Park High School, Ottawa, grade 10.

Family #13

Student was in English Control group until grade 5, then to Lower Canada College (private). Parents' native language, English. Both parents can speak French "quite well." Encouragement? "Have made suggestions, but were not taken up." Both parents have taken French courses. No school involvement from either parent. No comments either.

Student feels she can speak French "barely enough to get by," and understands it"well enough." Uses French for errands, and maybe go to a French party. Sometimes uses French with French teacher. She is insecure about her French so she avoids situations where she has to speak French. She does have francophone friends "tennis players, hockey players, other sportifs." She uses English, because they seem more enthusiastic to improve their English than I am to improve my French. Comments: "Throughout my elementary and high school education I received only minimal French teaching and exposure. What little I received was through daily, 45 minute classroom lessons. I did not participate at all in these classes and I consequently gained little from them for the following reasons: extreme boredom. I have not experienced anything that comes close to the pain and intense boredom of a French class. The classroom lecture technique is so boring because the grammar is boring and the literature is so juvenile and boring, the compositions are boring and the discussions are boring. The best way to learn French is immersion, living with a French family in a completely French community." After graduation? Go to university. Wants to be a lawyer. Living in 4 years' time? Malibu, Calif., Hawaii, Whistler, B.C., Montreal, P.Q., Ottawa. Continue to improve French? A little, visits to French communities. Interested in another language? Yes. Presently at Lower Canada College, grade 11.

*Family #14

Student was in English Control; Centennial Academy grade 11. Parents' native language, English. Both parents can speak French "quite well." Encouragement: Son has spent three summers in Noranda

living with a French family for 2 weeks. Then in exchange, a French boy comes to stay with us to learn English. This has been successful. Son's use of French went up and he improved." Parents have not taken special courses in French, but plan to take such a course this September. Mother was director of a private school, and director of the Visual Arts Centre--a bilingual applied arts school situated in Westmount. Parents' comments: "We believed that early immersion is not essential until perhaps grade 5 or 6. Our daughter was in a French immersion class of 12 children at Miss Edgar's in grade 6 and has been in advanced French classes ever since. She, however, has an ear for languages, is musical, and a good student. For a child like our son who is not a natural student and had difficulties from grade 1 on in mathematics, is a slow reader, and is not motivated, plus the trouble he had getting along with some girl peers, I wonder if French immersion would have benefitted him. I am inclined to think it would have confused him all the more. Now at grade 11, he is an average student, more motivated, and does better in French than most of his class (the medium is very low--like 58%). However, his attitude toward learning and using French is good and he likes the French people. I believe he will probably go on studying the language, and get more proficient. He will have to if he is to stay in Quebec. If I had to do it all over again, I would probably feel the same way, but would try him in immersion French to see if it worked."

No questionnaire available for child (it's a shame, because this seems to be a different case).

Family #15

No parent's questionnaire available. Child's native language, English. Was in St. Lambert elementary program to grade 6, then to CCHS.

Student feels he can speak French "quite well," and understands it "well enough." Would not comprehend well enough to get by at French university. He already uses French at work (summer--welder). Uses French for errands, directions with difficulty, attends parties in French only because he mixes well and can make himself understood, will not take exams in French because he is not used to it, "concentrated like that, does not read French newspapers because (he) does not comprehend enough and does not understand French T.V. or radio because they talk too fast, but might be able to get used to it." Rarely uses French with friends, sometimes with neighbours, often with French teacher. He avoids using French "sometimes I am not interested in what the person is talking about at all, or else I am not in the mood to talk French." Sometimes he goes to French parties (because it is a nice change). He has a fair number of francophone friends and sometimes he uses French, but mostly English with them. Sometimes he uses French for errands and giving directions. Where he works is mostly French. Sometimes he goes skiing with French kids. Comments: "The French class at school put too much stress on the tenses, verbs, etc., and did not give enough oral French lessons, such as proper pronunciation and comprehension. I personally think that a great way to teach children French is to have 90% oral in class including discussions, oral presentations where the entire class would be involved and have the teacher correct mistakes as they went along. Then, have 10% on grammar including just 3 PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE tenses,

because I have found that I and most French people I talk to use only those three. I think the best way to learn a language is to be put with a family of that language for a period of time. Then you are forced to adopt the language to communicate." After graduation from High School, he plans to "go to the University of British Columbia and become an ichthyologist or something along those lines." Occupation? Outdoors, research work with animals and wildlife. Living in next 4 years' time? British Columbia. Continue to improve French? I doubt it. Unless Levesque takes over Canada. Interested in another language? Yes, possibly Spanish or German so that I could go to most places and be understood. One of my close friends went into the immersion or bilingual stream by his parent's decision. Then later (grade 7) switched to the English stream. I will admit that he speaks French very well and is well understood by all. But he speaks English lousy and reverts to many slang terms and has a bad English grammar. On top of it all, he can't spell English words to save his life (examples: sure spelled shur; principal and principle spelled princible.) The point I am trying to make is that I feel a person should have a full working knowledge of his/her own native language before learning another." Presently, at CCHS, grade 11.

Family #16

English Control to grade 6 at Roslyn, then to Westmount High School. Parents' native language, English. Mother speaks French "well enough to get by," father "quite well." Encouragement? No, unfortunately. Neither parent has taken courses to improve French. No parental involvement at school. Parents' comments: "In the English stream, no success whatever. Weaknesses--insufficient time given to

French instruction: not enough stress on conversation. I believe that there should be only ONE SCHOOL SYSTEM IN QUEBEC FOR ALL CHILDREN (no religious separation) and that half of all subjects be taught in French, and half in English. This system would of course have to be started at the grade 1 level, and allow the present system to phase out."

Student feels he can speak French "well enough to get by." Will not go to French university, not take job where only French was used. Will use French to ask and give directions and attend parties where only French was spoken because it is a "social system--a fair conversation." Would take exams in French and reads newspapers in French. Understands French T.V. and radio enough to understand what's being said. Rarely uses French with friends and schoolmates, but often with French teacher. Has no francophone friends. Comments: "Full immersion in French conversation (also French exchange often) is best." After graduation he will attend an American school system. Study audio-technical sound in the studio. In 4 year's time he hopes to be in a "very good American university." Doubtful if he will continue to improve French as he "will be in the American school system for the following 6 years." Not necessarily interested in another language. Presently at Westmount High, 11th year.

II b English Comparison Group: Conventional English Language Schooling with FSL, and One Year Immersion at Grade 7

Family #17

Little information from parents. Father speaks French "quite well." Parents feel: "that the late immersion program greatly improved daughter's capability in French. Would do the same again. I believe complete education in French would be the best way to teach French--if learning French is the only consideration."

Student speaks French "quite well." Believes that late French immersion is a good way to learn French as long as only French is spoken in the classroom. French classes in which the students are given the opportunity to speak are good. Presently living in Vancouver, West Vancouver Senior Secondary. No opportunity to use French.

Family #18

English Control group until grade 7, one-year immersion at Royal Vale. Mother and father speak French "well enough to get by." Parents feel that late immersion provided too much exposure to BAD French. They would not recommend it. Best is complete immersion, with children whose mother tongue is French, or private school only." Please provide us with a copy of your results. Suggestion: Why don't you retest our son rather than take his word for his abilities? I would be interested in finding out how he compares with the students who graduate from supposedly bilingual programs." Why was child in program? "Obviously to learn French, and to get him out of the rotten, lousy public school system."

Student feels he speaks French "quite well." He often uses it with friends. Does not watch T.V. in French because "all the shows are boring. The best and only way to learn proper French is in a French-language school. Although I have been in a French school many years I am far too old to learn French properly. Personally, I don't think my French is very good, yet on my form I rated myself quite highly as I assume my French is being based on second language capabilities." What type of occupation are you interested in? Being rich. Where do you think you will be living in 4 years' time? "As

far away from the Parti Quebecois government as my ten little toes will carry me." Will you continue to improve your knowledge of French? "Yes, by going to French CEGEP and not a bad CEGEP but a good one where "joual" is considered as it should be: a weak dialect of the French language." Are you interested in learning another language? "No, I have enough trouble with two I already know." "It is very difficult to rate your own ability to speak French. I know plenty of kids from Westmount High who believe themselves to be (choke!) 'perfectly bilingual" yet they cannot put together a half decent French sentence. Good luck with your survey. You'll need it." Presently at Collège Jean de Brébeuf (private).

Family #19

English Control, then grade 7 immersion at Royal Vale. Father is Croatian. Mother and father understand French "quite well." "I am disappointed in my child's inability to be comfortable in French. She understands quite well, but has had little opportunity to express herself in the past couple of years, even in the classroom. The major problem seems to be poor teachers. Because she took her grade 11 matriculation exam in grade 10 and has taken a very poor course in "Arts Plastique" which seems to have been conducted mainly in English, she has steadily lost a great deal. If I had to do it over, I would send my child to private school at the primary level, but this is not because of the French instruction."

Student feels she "can speak French "well enough to get by," but is too self-conscious about my accent and frequent grammar mistakes. Really just a lack of confidence." Do you attend parties where only French is spoken? "I never had the chance as I have no close French

speaking friends. French immersion programs like Royal Vale School are excellent opportunities to learn French. They are not solutions in themselves. They must be followed up in High Schools. In Westmount High School there were too few electives offered in French and even those few were ineffective. Either the course material was useless (as in "Arts Plastiques") or beyond the students' capabilities as was Canadian History in French during grade 9. I feel that one of the major reasons I am uneasy when speaking French is that the teachers I had were not suitable for their jobs. Either they did not know the subject and taught it because they knew French or vice-versa. In general the French teachers could not control the classes at all. They seemed to have more trouble in the classroom than any other group of teachers. Aren't there more suitable teachers available?" What type of occupation are you interested in? "I am interested in biology, home economics; perhaps I will end up as a dietician or something having to do with Health & Welfare or Food and Drug administration boards." Where do you think you will be living in 4 years' time? "I may well stay in the U.S. if I finish school there. I am an American citizen so it is very easy as well as feasible for me." Are you interested in learning another language? "No, languages are not for me. I have no ability to learn them with any efficiency." Presently at Westmount High School.

Family #20

English Control, then grade 7 immersion at Royal Vale. Father and mother, native English speakers. Mother understands French "quite well." Mother: "I felt the grade 7 immersion program certainly was of benefit to our daughter. I feel the early bilingual program is

the best (starting in kindergarten). We have 2 other children in the early immersion program and feel the results have been excellent, both in their English and French education. (Roslyn School and Westmount High). I would plan to educate my child in the early bilingual programme as mentioned above." Father: "Immersion, starting in kindergarten, would appear to be very effective; more than 7th grade immersion. Unfortunately, students in the Roslyn program get little or no opportunity to use French outside of school."

Student feels she can speak French "quite well." "I found that one period of French a day was enough to learn written French, but it was not enough time to learn to speak French. I found in the French immersion, that I learned quite a lot of French, but quickly forgot it again. I think that the best way to learn French is to speak it all the time and where that could be done would be an all French school where French children went. The only way to really learn French is to speak it." What type of occupation are you interested in? "I would like to combine some sort of photography with some conservation and work with animals." Where do you think you will be living in 4 years' time? "I don't really know, but probably out of the Province, not because of the French issue but because the university I hope to attend in out of the province." Another language? "Not really." Presently at Trafalgar School (private).

Family #21

English Control group, then to grade 7 immersion at Royal Vale. Mother and father speak English only. "As my children didn't respond all that well to their French programs at school, they were not successful for them. However, it would be difficult to ascertain why."

Student feels she can speak some French "well enough to get by." She dropped out of program because it was bringing her other subjects down and she found it too difficult. "I personally think that the only way you can learn to speak French is if YOU really want to. The method in which they teach it is just fine because there is no other way out, but you have to really want to learn it." Occupation? Fashion merchandizing. Living in 4 years' time? St. Catherines, Ontario. Other language? No. Presently at Westmount High.

*Family #22

English Control group but entered immersion program at grade 3 and stayed through grade 6. Both parents speak English. Father speaks French "well enough to get by." "I am totally in favour of early immersion. However, I feel that my daughter achieved her delightful fluency in French only because almost all of her extracurricular activities were in the French milieu. Some of her friends from her immersion class have little more ability in French than I do. This involvement outside of school seems to be mandatory for success. I agree with my daughter that a weakness in the program was in English grammar. She still has poor grammar when writing in English."

Student feels she can speak French "like a native speaker." "I think one of the greatest lacks in the program was English grammar. As most people took the program eventually went on to English high school, I think a better grounding in English would have been better. When I got to high school, teachers assumed that everyone knew grammar. I asked for extra help every year, but teachers in high school just don't have time to tutor. My English grammar is

still very weak. The way I learned French (early immersion) is certainly the most painless way. Speaking French just evolved naturally, it wasn't forced. However, I don't think just going to school in French is enough; students should be encouraged to engage in outside activities in French. I did all of my gymnastic training at a French club (Gymnix), and therefore spent about 25 hours a week outside of school speaking French. I finished grade 6 with much better pronunciation, accent, and comprehension than most of my friends who had been in the program since kindergarten. (I started in grade 3)." Occupation? Gymnastics coach. Living in 4 years' time? Probably in Toronto. Other languages? "It depends on which language. I tried German, but it didn't work out very well; it may have been lack of effort, though. It should be mentioned that when I started taking French, my family took advantage of my knowledge of the language and learned French too. My sister is bilingual now, and has had a job in a French theatre and my father speaks enough French to get along in business, etc." (Note: This subject was not included in our statistical analysis because of her very mixed experiences, starting as an EC but then from grade 3 on in early immersion program.)

Family #23

English Control, with grade 7 immersion; now at CCHS. English speaking parents. Father speaks French "well enough to get by." "We believe from our own experiences that immersion is best starting at grade 7, but with a better French program starting at kindergarten. This is based on one child starting grade 7 and the other two with immersion in kindergarten. In this era, all French immersion must be improved and expanded to enable full fluency by grade 11. But

this is to be achieved without a reduction in English, i.e., master English and become fluent in French. The reason daughter was not in early immersion was due to no room for her in class."

Student feels she can speak French "well enough to get by" and understands it "quite well." "The way I learned French wasn't too bad a method. Problems were: not enough time spent on speaking French; too much time spent on grammar; not made to speak French all the time--student was allowed to resort to speaking English especially in grade 7 immersion. Occupation? Nursing. Living in 4 years' time? Probably out of Quebec, most likely Toronto area. Another language? Not really.

Family #24

English Control group with grade 7 immersion at St. Lambert. English speaking parents. Father has "barely enough French to get by;" mother "not at all." "We believe there is much to be said for a well administered immersion program. If we have one regret, it is not that David took immersion French in grade 7, but that it was taught by a novice who experienced considerable difficulty. This experience could have been better for our son, under better leadership. We are not critical of the program in our high school, for we feel it is a good one. Those students who really want to can become bilingual in our high schools. The only extra suggestion I have is that teachers and guidance counselors do all they can to motivate students. They might invite people from industry to explain the need for French; or use other suitable means. With our boy, it seems he lacks the motivation which neither we nor the school could generate."

Student feels he can speak French "well enough to get by." (No

other comments.) Occupation? Geology or forestry. Living in 4 years' time? One of the Western provinces or in Ontario. Another language? No.